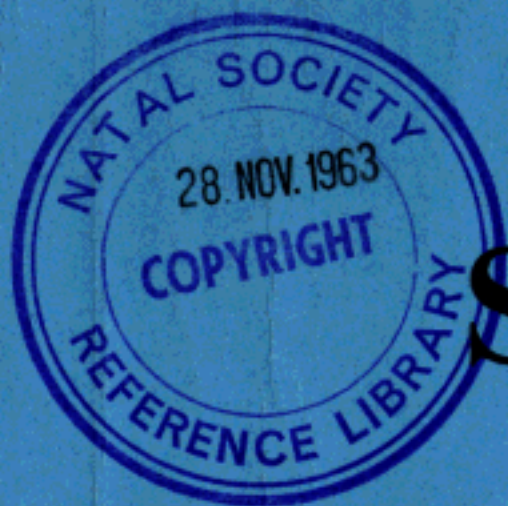


# THE BLACK SASH



# DIE SWART SERP

**National Conference Issue**





## *Dedication . . .*

**I**N pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## *Toewydingsrede . . .*

**M**ET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge vertroue en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons beloof plegtig om ons te erset teen enige vermindering hiervan, oortuig dat hierdie plig ons opgelê is en dat die geskiedenis en ons kinders ons sal regverdig.

Mag God ons help, op Wie se krag ons ons verlaat.

## **THE BLACK SASH—DIE SWART SERP** National Conference Issue October/November, 1963

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Political comment in this issue by E. D. GRANT, 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert St., Johannesburg, excepting where otherwise stated.





## THE CRIME, APARTHEID-

## THE PENALTY, ISOLATION

Address to the Ninth Annual National  
Conference of the Black Sash

by

**Jean Sinclair**

National President

**L**AST YEAR, in my address, I tried briefly to indicate the rapid change taking place in Africa, South Africa's resistance to that change, and the role of the Black Sash in these circumstances.

This year, it is my duty to show the disastrous effects which the policy of Apartheid is having on South Africa and South Africans. It is increasing racial tensions and hatred at home, and it is severing our contacts with the outside world, one by one.

Internal pressures have reduced the majority of White South Africans to an apathetic, fearful people seeking refuge in the White laager. These same internal pressures have denied to Black South Africans all legal avenues of protest, and are reducing them to a state of hopelessness.

The Government, realizing perhaps that its policy has already failed, is seeking to find a moral justification for Apartheid by carving up South Africa to form race-tight Bantustans, a policy whose end result no-one can foresee. The Government will brook no opposition, and has become absolutely ruthless in its application of Apartheid. Its totalitarian laws, its unbridled attacks on liberalism and on the English-language Press, and, in fact, on any anti-Apartheid thinking, are evidence that it has reached a situation which it cannot contain except by force. The appeal for White unity, the use of fear as a weapon, are instruments which are being used to keep the Nationalist Party together, the Government in power, and the rest of the population in a state of intimidation and fear. The White public is afraid, afraid of the Government, afraid of Black Nationalism, and is tumbling into the laager to preserve its White privilege, to maintain the *status quo* and allegedly to save White civilization for the world. White South Africans are sacrificing their principles for their material well-being.

### External Pressures

Let us now turn to the external pressures which have built up against South Africa and are rapidly forcing the country into isolation.

In the eyes of the world, Apartheid is a crime: a crime against humanity, because it is

based on racial discrimination. The non-White people are the victims of the most harsh and oppressive laws and the injustices and discriminatory legislation which have been imposed upon them have made South Africa the most hated and the most bitterly opposed country in the civilized world.

Pressure, particularly from the Afro-Asian bloc, has been increasing over the years. With so many African States gaining their independence, and with South Africa's intransigent attitude, the volume of the pressure has reached considerable proportions. Not only is there pressure from the Afro-Asians, but our former friends among the Western nations can no longer defend South Africa and are being forced into the position of having to apply pressure against the policies of the South African Government. The result is that South Africa is being pushed with the tide, further and further into isolation.

### Growth of African National Consciousness

When Mr. Macmillan came to South Africa at the beginning of 1960, he made the attitude of Britain patently clear when he delivered his famous "wind of change" speech in Cape Town. He drew our attention to the change that was taking place in Africa and he said,

"The most striking of all the impressions I have formed is the strength of African national consciousness . . . whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. . . . This means, I would judge, that we must come

(Continued Overleaf)

## The Crime, Apartheid—The Penalty, Isolation (Cont.)

to terms with it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so we may impair the precarious balance between the East and West on which the peace of the world depends."

We all studied this speech and I think some of us, at least, understood the implications of what Mr. Macmillan was trying to convey. When one re-reads this speech to-day, it is terrifying to realize how little heed was paid to the solemn warning implicit in that address.

### The United Nations and South West Africa

As early as 1946, before this Government came into power, South Africa figured on the Agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, at that time on the question of the treatment meted out to South African Indians. This issue came up year after year and remained on the Agenda until two years ago when, owing to the pressure of the Afro-Asian States, the whole question of Apartheid came under review and the Indian resolution, *per se*, was dropped.

Last year, a resolution was passed in the General Assembly by 67 votes to 2, with a number of abstentions, calling for sanctions against South Africa. The pressure on South Africa is increasing every year in an effort to force our Government to abandon its policy of Apartheid.

While it is accepted that sanctions are almost impossible to apply effectively, South Africa is also facing a more serious issue, the issue of South West Africa. The following facts were given recently by Mr. R. B. Ballinger, lecturer in History at the University of the Witwatersrand.

In 1962, Ethiopia and Liberia, formerly members of the League of Nations, instituted proceedings against South Africa before the International Court of Justice. They alleged that the administration of South West Africa was a breach of the Mandate Agreement which South Africa accepted in 1920. Firstly, they said that South Africa would not submit to international supervision, neither would she render annual reports concerning the administration of the territory, nor would she submit petitions from South West Africa to the United Nations.

The second allegation of Ethiopia and Liberia was "that the whole spirit of the administration of South West Africa is contrary to the two obligations of the mandate system, namely, as in the Covenant, that the mandate system shall constitute a 'sacred trust' and Article 2 which says 'shall promote to the utmost the moral and material well-being of the inhabitants.'" Ethiopia and Liberia then listed in their application the whole gamut of Apartheid legislation.

The International Court of Justice is the only instrument of continuity between the now defunct League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations Organization. All members of the United Nations are, *ipso facto*, members of the International Court of Justice.

The International Court first had to consider whether it was competent for the Court to con-

sider the case. This they have done. You will remember that in December, 1962, by the narrow margin of eight votes to seven, it ruled that the International Court had competence to consider the allegations brought by Ethiopia and Liberia against South Africa. The case will now be judged on its merits.

In international law, a judgment of the International Court of Justice is held to be binding on all member states of the United Nations. The Court is not being asked to pass sentence, but should the judgment be given against South Africa, the matter will go back to the United Nations to implement the judgment. The seriousness of this situation should be clear to us all.

### Isolation

From the day that Dr. Verwoerd took South Africa out of the British Commonwealth, the steps to isolate our country took a tangible form. This year they have reached alarming proportions. Scarcely a day goes by when we do not read of action designed to cut us off from the rest of the world.

Let us briefly examine the extent of our isolation. On leaving the Commonwealth, South Africa was automatically excluded from confidential information available to all Commonwealth countries—a serious matter in this unsettled and dangerous world. Our Commonwealth preferences will come to an end, if they have not already done so, when the present agreements expire.

Quite apart from the pressures in the United Nations itself, different countries have themselves taken action against South Africa. Trade with the African States is declining; there have also been trade boycotts in European countries; dockers in Denmark, Sweden, Australia, and now in New York, have refused to unload cargoes from South Africa; there are efforts to exclude

### Dehydrated

(Rand Daily Mail)





## Act of Isolation



(Rand Daily Mail)

South African delegates from international organizations, such as the International Labour Organization; South African delegates to international Conferences are subject to humiliation and indignities. In fact, the policies of the South African Government are constantly being condemned at Conferences all over the world.

All South Africans, even those who disagree with the Government's policy, are humiliated by the serious charges made against our country. Recently, the Olympic Games Committee, after months of preparation for its meeting in Nairobi, was forced to change its venue to Baden Baden, because the Kenya Government would not allow the South African delegates to enter Kenya. Our uni-racial sports teams have been booed when they have gone to other countries. Equity have decided not to allow their actors and actresses to play before uni-racial audiences—taken to its logical conclusion, this would mean the cutting-off of South Africa from the cultural stream of art, theatre and music.

The decisions taken at the Addis Ababa Conference are being strenuously implemented. African States will not allow South African planes to use their air space and have forced South African Airways to take a longer and more costly route to Europe. Airlines from other countries may be forced to choose whether they will serve South Africa, or whether they will serve Africa north of the Limpopo.

Kuwait has severed trade and diplomatic relations with South Africa; Tanganyika too, has cut her trade ties; Ethiopia has banned passengers with South African passports from travelling on her airlines; Uganda has cut off trade relations, in fact, the East African countries are preparing to sever all postal, cable and telephone communications with South Africa; Israel, it is said,

may sever air, sea and trade links with South Africa and has already recalled her Minister Plenipotentiary. There is pressure on the Western Nations not to supply arms and weapons of war to South Africa; America has not done so for some time. Should the Labour Party in Britain win the next election, there is a possibility that Britain, too, will put an embargo on arms for South Africa. There is no doubt that a Labour Government would take up a very much stronger attitude towards South Africa. There is pressure on American investors not to invest capital in the Republic. At the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Ethiopia, backed by Mali, Ghana, Nigeria and Tanganyika, made a plea to cut off assistance from the world's financial institutions to nations which practised the doctrine of race segregation. Later in the meeting, when Dr. Dönges rose to speak, only Sudan, Mauritania and Burundi of the African States were present and the Mauritanian delegate walked out after Dr. Dönges had spoken a few words.

The Foreign Ministers of the Nordic countries have refused an invitation from Dr. Verwoerd to visit South Africa and see for themselves. These countries are now working on a plan for an alternative policy for South Africa, a plan for which they seek United Nations support. They advocate multi-racial government with the provision of safeguards for the Whites. They also say that the United Nations Assembly should state the readiness of the United Nations to lend its assistance, if necessary, during the transitional period, to maintain law and order.

### United Nations' Resolution

And now the United Nations has passed a resolution condemning South Africa's failure to comply with the United Nations' demand to bring an end to Apartheid—a policy which disturbs international peace and security. The resolution also urged South Africa to grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons subjected to any restrictions for opposing the policy of Apartheid.

Countries such as Britain, the United States and France objected to the wording contained in the clauses on Sabotage trials and political prisoners. When, however, these clauses were included in the resolution as a whole, all member States voted in favour of the resolution, with the exception of Portugal, Spain, Paraguay and Honduras, who were absent, and South Africa, who recorded a negative vote.

This resolution is disastrous—certainly a disaster for South Africa, and maybe a disaster for the United Nations.

However much South Africans condemn the Afro-Asian bloc, however much they feel that the African States are discrediting South Africa when in their own countries they indulge in equally undemocratic practices, however much South Africans consider the world body to have become a farce—the fact remains that South Africa refuses to make even the smallest concessions.

(Continued Overleaf)



## The Crime, Apartheid—The Penalty, Isolation (Cont.)

Despite the increasing demands of the United Nations to abandon Apartheid, the South African Government's answer is to enact ever more unjust and discriminatory legislation, and, through legislation, progressively to usurp the functions which rightly belong to the judiciary.

South Africa's intransigent attitude, her determination to pursue her policy regardless of all appeals from the outside world, has forced the Western nations, who for years have done their best to prevent the adoption of excessive demands for boycotts and sanctions against South Africa, to decide that they can no longer jeopardize their own positions in world organizations by remaining passive. For the first time, South Africa's vote was the only one recorded against a resolution condemning our country.

Whether South Africa is expelled from the United Nations, whether she withdraws of her own volition or whether she remains a member of the organization, she is out on a limb, she is isolated and alone. This is what Apartheid has done for our country.

### Drastic Government Measures

In the face of this world condemnation, what is happening at home? This year started with one of the most controversial sessions of Parliament in our history. In spite of all appeals to abandon the policy of Apartheid, from nations which were once our friends, our Government, without taking heed, placed before Parliament, which enacted it, legislation such as the **Transkei Constitution Bill**, the **Publications and Entertainments Bill**, an attenuated **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill** and the notorious **General Law Amendment Bill of 1963**, that totalitarian measure under which an individual can be detained for periods of 90 days, "even to eternity," without charge and without trial.

Millions of rands are being spent by the Government in increasing the strength and the size of the armed forces; young men are being called upon to do nine months' compulsory military training. A congress of the Nationalist Party has passed a resolution asking the Government to conscript women into the army so that "they can fight shoulder to shoulder with their men." There are 27,000 women in pistol clubs.

### Propaganda Campaign

The theme of the propaganda campaign is the danger of liberalism. Over the radio, through the Afrikaans Press, from Cabinet Ministers and Government spokesmen, liberalism is equated with Communism and is claimed to be an evil thing. The Government attacks all organizations, bodies and individuals holding liberal opinions (by which I mean opinions which are in conformity with the moral values and principles which are the standard in all civilized countries) N.U.S.A.S., the Christian Institute, the English Press, Alan Paton and others, in fact all those who hold views contrary to the Government. The

principles of freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom from fear, etc., are being abandoned.

The S.A.B.C. is being used as a mouthpiece of the Nationalist Party. Every day the news broadcasts highlight every racial clash throughout the world. Political commentaries are all slanted to show how liberal thinking is a danger to the safety of South Africa. Despite all this, liberal opinion will survive when Apartheid is dead and gone, for nothing will stop men thinking and nothing will stop the search for truth.

### Oppressive Apartheid Laws

Under the oppressive apartheid laws, thousands of non-Whites are being uprooted from their homes under the Group Areas Act; job reservations hang over the heads of many like a sword of Damocles, and the vast majority of Africans are existing on poverty wages.

Last year there were 384,497 convictions for technical offences under the pass laws and influx control. In South Africa, with its comparatively small population of 16,000,000, there are 67,000 of all races in gaol—one in 238 of the whole population. Many hundreds of people are in detention in one form or another without charge and without trial; many more have been charged and are awaiting trial. Once again there are mass trials. African political organizations have been declared unlawful; their leaders are either banned, banished, in gaol or have fled the country; some of the more militant members of these organizations who are not incarcerated, have gone underground, are alleged to have abandoned the African policy of non-violence, and are resorting to terrorist methods and sabotage to bring about a situation which will see an end to Apartheid.

### Break-up of African Family Life

The issue which is of the greatest concern to the Black Sash, and should be of the greatest concern to all South Africans, is the break-up of African family life. Because of the Native Urban Areas Act, it is almost as difficult for an African married woman to live with her husband as it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle.

The Government decrees that Africans may remain in the urban areas only as long as their labour is required for the White economy. Thousands of Africans, and many women and children on their own, are being "endorsed out" of the urban areas and sent back to the rural areas, where starvation is rife, without any provision for housing and employment. Husbands are being housed in bachelor hostels. In the Cape Peninsula alone, a thousand Africans a month are being "endorsed out." Those of us who come in contact with some of these separated families have seen for ourselves the human suffering and the sorrow involved. **How can South Africa, which professes to be a Christian country, carry out a policy which is anti-Christ, and morally indefensible?**



## "The Pied Piper of Pretoria"

To sum up, what are the fruits of Apartheid?

We have a flourishing economy, but it is set on a course of galloping inflation; we are in a position of isolation in the world because there is almost universal condemnation of Apartheid. We have a Bantustan in the Transkei, in the throes of its first general election, which is being conducted with the territory under a State of Emergency. There are sporadic outbreaks of sabotage and violence; thousands of people are in gaol or awaiting trial, in detention, in banishment, under bans or house arrest; there are demands for an army of unprecedented strength to maintain law and order at home and to ward off our enemies from abroad. We have a frustrated and embittered non-White population governed by myriad laws which control every aspect of their daily lives; we have a White population which, fearing Black Nationalism, has forsaken its values of justice and humanity, and, mesmerized by the "Apartheid or Death" tune of the Pied Piper of Pretoria, is following him into what it believes to be the safety of the White laager.

In this atmosphere of hysteria and unrealism, South Africa is moving towards her destruction.

### Living with their Consciences

I ask White South Africans to cast their minds back thirty years to Hitler's Germany of the 1930's. Hitler came to power with the moral and financial support of the big industrialists. The

rank and file soon followed and climbed into Hitler's laager. The German people closed their eyes to injustice, they allowed the Jews and Catholics to be persecuted; they did not protest against the concentration camps, they professed ignorance of the gas chambers. They accepted restrictions on their own liberty. They did not raise their voices, and they did not want to raise their voices, until it was too late.

Those who survived the war saw Germany utterly beaten, her cities destroyed, millions of her citizens killed, and 6,000,000 Jews exterminated. They heard the indictments at the Nuremberg Trials, and today they are living with their consciences.

We beseech White South Africans to examine their consciences before it is too late; to ask themselves if they are doing all they can to save South Africa, if they do not feel it their moral duty to bring pressure on the Government to abandon Apartheid, and introduce a policy which would be just and fair to all South Africans. If something is not done soon to bring about a change peacefully, will we not see a violent revolution? The future would then be dark indeed.

The prospects for the coming year are gloomy. Events are moving rapidly outside South Africa, and verbal condemnation is likely to be translated into action. South Africa will go through her testing time; we hope that people of goodwill will not be found wanting.

THE CRIME IS APARTHEID—THE PENALTY IS ISOLATION.

## A NATION'S CONSCIENCE

The Black Sash continues to act as the conscience of the nation.

THE Black Sash, a unique South African phenomenon which at one time attracted world notice, inevitably moved out of the news with the passing of time, but has stubbornly refused to move out of existence. This is, perhaps, its most remarkable achievement.

Although its methods have changed, it remains what it set out to be—the conscience of a nation. It has no political programme, for while its members are predominantly liberal in thought, it is concerned not so much with policies as with the effect of policies on human beings.

In this it still performs a vital service. In her address to the annual conference—the ninth—in Johannesburg recently, the National President, Mrs. Sinclair, drew attention to the thousands of broken homes and uprooted families, to the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult for an African woman to

live with her husband, to the thousands of men, women and children who are being "endorsed out" of the towns to face a precarious future in the rural areas.

These are, unhappily, the practical results in human terms of policies which assume that the ends always justify the means, and which see human beings only in the racial mass and seldom as individuals.

Hard cases, it is said, make bad laws, but can laws ever be justified which issue in widespread individual hardships and injustice? There is something rotten at the core of policies which disregard the fundamental human verities of home and family and the right to work for a living wage.

The political parties argue their case at a different level—the victims of these policies, after all, have no vote. It is as well, therefore, that this dedicated band of women continues to insist that human suffering is real and relevant, and that no policy that ignores or produces it can be valid. ("The Star")





# IMPRESSIONS OF CONFERENCE

by MOLLY PETERSEN

Vice-Chairman of Cape Western Region  
and a former National President of the  
Black Sash

**T**HE BLACK SASH Annual National Conference of 1963, held in Johannesburg, got off to a flying start on Tuesday, 22nd October, with an excellent opening address by the National President, Mrs. Jean Sinclair.

The very darkness of the picture painted by Mrs. Sinclair, of the increasing isolation which was cutting South Africa off from the rest of the world, offered a sombre challenge to the assembled delegates. In a brilliantly constructed and outspoken address, Mrs. Sinclair pointed out how the intransigent attitude of the present Government to world criticism of apartheid had brought about, not merely universal condemnation, but universal determination to give expression to that condemnation by excluding South Africa from international cultural, political, technical, sociological and sporting bodies.

Inside South Africa, the picture was equally black, for it was one of new and infinitely more drastic repressive laws such as the General Law Amendment Act, 1963, of thousands more people imprisoned or otherwise restricted by being banned, banished or placed under house arrest; and of an increasingly embittered non-White population.

Mrs. Sinclair's address certainly brought the delegates face to face with the grim realities of the situation in South Africa, and with the tremendous task which confronts the Black Sash in its efforts to obtain good government for South Africa and justice for all her peoples. Although not dismayed by the prospect before them, for members of the Black Sash have long since accepted the fact that the changes which they so earnestly desire cannot be brought about either quickly or easily, it was a sober group of delegates that filed out of the conference room to fortify the body, if not the spirit, with the excellent tea provided.

## A Stimulating Challenge

With so many good things to eat, and so many old friends to greet—for most of the original leaders of the Sash were once again representing their regions—it was inevitable that the resilient spirit of the Black Sash should once more rise to the surface. The problems so ably outlined by Mrs. Sinclair appeared, by the end of the tea break, not as insuperable difficulties, but as a stimulating challenge.

## "The Writing on the Wall"

At 12 mid-day, a bus arrived to take delegates and observers from Conference to the Stock Exchange Square in Hollard Street for a demonstration against apartheid. Three posters were used, the one reading, "The Crime, Apartheid—the Penalty, Isolation," the other two listing, respectively, the many inhumanities which add up to "apartheid," and the many ways in which South Africa has already been isolated.

Numbers of people came to stare and to read the placards, and it is to be hoped that some were able to read "the writing on the wall" as clearly as that on the posters; but the general air of idle interest or even complete lack of interest was not indicative of any great appreciation on the part of the public of the dangers which threaten this country of ours.

## Cocktail Party

After an afternoon devoted to regional and headquarters reports, the Conference adjourned for the day, and later met in the relaxed atmosphere of a delightful cocktail party given by Mr. and Mrs. Sinclair for delegates and their husbands and members of the Press.



## The Black Sash Opens its Ranks

The real business of the Conference began on Wednesday, with the debate on Border's resolution that the Black Sash should open its ranks to all women of the Republic of South Africa who subscribe to the aims and objectives of the organization. This matter has been debated for four years in succession, and was brought forward last year by Border Region as a firm resolution, but it did not gain the two-thirds majority required for any resolution affecting membership.

As in previous years, this discussion produced a high standard of debate, although little was added to what had been said at previous conferences. It was obvious that there were still many members who felt that the strength of the Black Sash lay in the fact that it was an organization of voters with a strong sense of personal responsibility, pledged to protest against wrongs brought about by voters; and for some time it appeared that the ranks would not be opened.

However, during discussion on an allied resolution, it became apparent that the enfranchisement of the women of the Transkei posed a serious problem. To admit these new "voters," to whom a form of franchise has been granted, and no other non-White women, would be to condone apartheid, Bantustans, etc., and exclude women

who are powerless to obtain the vote because of Government policy. These considerations had a decisive effect on the final voting on Border's resolution, and it was passed with a comfortable two-thirds majority.

## Advice Offices

Among the items for discussion, the subject of the Advice Offices provoked tremendous interest, and it was encouraging to learn that since last Conference one new office had been opened in Johannesburg, and three others would be started during the course of the next few months in Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth.

Conference again expressed deep concern at the break-up of African family life caused by the laws of this land, and resolved to continue the campaign to arouse public awareness of the sorrows and hardships endured by African families, and to bring pressure on those in authority to have these laws repealed.

In view of the myriad laws which control every aspect of the Africans' daily lives, and their obvious need for help and guidance in establishing their limited rights, the free assistance given at the Advice Offices becomes ever more important. Cape Town office alone dealt with 4,891 cases in the past year.

*(Continued Overleaf)*



**The National President welcomes regional leaders to Conference.**

L. to R., Mrs. D. Hill, Transvaal; Mrs. M. Corrigan, Natal Midlands; Mrs. S. Francis, Natal Coastal; Mrs. D. Curry, Border; Mrs. J. Sinclair (National President); Mrs. M. Henderson, Cape Western.



## **Border's Membership Drive**

Border was congratulated on its mammoth membership drive, which, although to date it had brought in only five new members, had resulted in bringing to the attention of 1,000 White citizens in the Border area the work which the Black Sash does, and the important principles it seeks to uphold. Inspired by Border's efforts, Conference agreed unanimously that each Region would conduct a membership drive during the coming year.

## **The South Africa Foundation**

The South Africa Foundation came in for severe criticism, and it was the considered opinion of Conference that great efforts should be made to convince members of the Foundation individually that they were not helping the situation in South Africa by their efforts to whitewash the Government's apartheid policy.

It was also agreed that half-truths and blatant Government propaganda should be countered wherever possible.

The Black Sash is convinced that Governmental policy and the many stringent laws which deny non-Whites all legitimate means of redressing their grievances are responsible for driving the more desperate Africans into subversive activity, the more timid Whites into a laager, and the whole country into isolation. Our Government alone is responsible for our bad image abroad, and the world's condemnation.

## **The 90-day Detainees**

Conference decided to continue to stress the fact that many hundreds of South Africans are being punished by indefinite detention, bannings, house arrest and banishment, without any charge having been brought against them, or any crime proved.

Once again the Black Sash will try to obtain the support of other women's organizations; this time their co-operation will be sought in making a plea, through the newspapers, for 90-day detainees to be brought to trial, and not kept in detention indefinitely. They will also be asked to make a joint plea for an interview with the Minister of Justice on this matter.

## **Address by Mr. Delius**

One of the highlights of the Conference was undoubtedly the talk given by Mr. Anthony Delius on the Addis Ababa Conference.

It was illuminating to learn from Mr. Delius that although there was complete detestation expressed by the Africans at Addis Ababa for the policy of White supremacy, the main purpose of that historic conference was to solve the economic

problems of emergent African states. These problems, according to Mr. Delius, are universal and very serious among these emergent states. They are unlikely to be solved for many generations to come, and may well become worse before they begin to improve.

Nonetheless, Mr. Delius believes that Dr. Verwoerd has under-estimated the deep anger evoked in Africans by his apartheid policy, and that he is wrong in thinking that in spite of what he is doing the African states will sooner or later turn to South Africa for help. Mr. Delius believes that there is an increasing doubt among Nationalists as to the wisdom of their apartheid policy, but that it will probably take a long time before these doubts gain sufficient momentum to bring about a change of policy.

On his own admission, Mr. Delius is not a prophet, so it is to be hoped that he may be wrong in believing that present policies still have a considerable time to run, in which case there might still be a chance of a peaceful old age for the weary Black Sash "Winnies"!

## **Goodwill Gesture**

The rest of the resolutions were skipped through at commendable speed under the shadow of "Old Man Time."

Out of the discussion on two resolutions on migrant labour and the break-up of African family life, which were taken together, arose a suggestion from Mrs. Stott that at Christmas time a message of goodwill to Africans should be published in the Press, sponsored by a large number of White people, whose signatures would be collected and names published with the message. The purpose of this would be two-fold—firstly to show non-Whites that there are still many Whites who sympathize with them, and secondly to show the Government that not all White South Africans have been frightened into the White laager. This was accepted by a large majority of delegates as being a most valuable suggestion.

## **Headquarters Region**

When it came to the decision as to which region should be Headquarters Region, only Transvaal was noble enough to accept nomination, and the gratitude of the whole Black Sash movement goes to this region for accepting this onerous burden for the third year running.

Mrs. Jean Sinclair received an ovation on her election as National President for the third year in succession, and Mrs. Jeanette Davidoff and Mrs. "Bobbie" Cluver were elected National Vice-Presidents.



## Close of Conference

Delegates to Conference were warm in their expression of appreciation of the kind hospitality shown them, the excellent transport arrangements made, and the really delicious food which was provided for teas and lunches throughout the three days of Conference. The "Universal Aunts" were warmly thanked for their untiring attention and assistance.

Natal Midlands Region kindly offered to hold the next Annual National Conference in Pieter-

maritzburg, and their invitation was gratefully accepted.

When the last word had been spoken, the last contentious point settled, and the weary delegates had said their last farewells, there was the usual realization that something worthwhile and concrete had been achieved as the result of the exchange of ideas, the disagreements and the resolving of those disagreements.

Above all, each delegate carried away with her the warm and sustaining knowledge that the heart of the Black Sash was as staunch as ever.

## BLACK SASH CROSSWORD PUZZLE

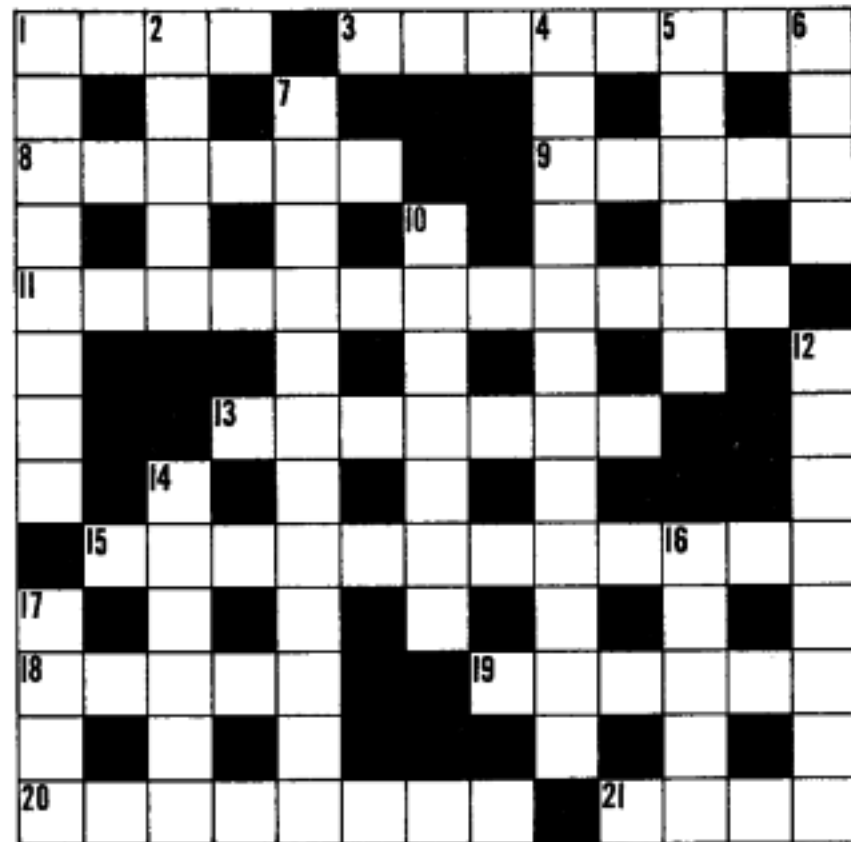
### ACROSS

Note.—Clues 1, 9, 18, 19, across, make up a well-known Black Sash slogan.

1. Cry of distress from East London, engulfed in hire purchase? (4).
3. An African academic pudding of which ultimate proof, briefly, will be the educational nourishment provided. (8).
8. Often linked with Washington as the headquarters of western democracy. (6).
9. It's wrong when it's taken away, but is it likely to be left? (5).
11. South African authorities are much inclined to favour this method of sowing seed. (12).
13. They decide what we may see, hear, read, write — and think? (7).
15. How the South African Cabinet might sing its own version of Tennyson's lullaby, "Wind of (the western) change"? (5, 3, 4).
18. Having spoilt a sheet — this more than once! — let's turn over a new leaf. (5).
19. Injustices have grown plurally. (6).
20. Viewed with suspicion and distaste, it is merely the science of government. (8).
21. Colours used extensively as camouflage in recent drastic legislation? (4).

### DOWN

1. Mr. Waring, our Minister of Information, could undoubtedly make an authoritative statement on an important position of this kind. (8).
2. Any language but our own. (5).
4. In South Africa presumably these were the Hottentots. (5, 7).
5. Instruments for recording the groans of the much-maligned English press? (6).



6. Will his Christian name prove of any significance in the Transkei? (4).
7. Political meetings in South Africa are often taken over by this vociferous constituent. (5, 7).
10. In 1956 the packed Senate became the tool of apartheid — a pact was broken. (7).
12. Between rests confused South African White gyrates again. (8).
14. She said that patriotism was not enough. (6).
16. An . . . of prevention is better than a ton of cure (5).
17. According to Dr Verwoerd, all other countries are out of it (4).

(Solution on Page 32)



# "SOUTH AFRICA IN THE SIXTIES"

A Review of the book published by the S.A. Foundation.

by JOY HEY

Natal Midlands Region

"SOUTH AFRICA IN THE SIXTIES" is a socio-economic survey of South Africa written by a "team of economists commissioned for the purpose by the South Africa Foundation and edited by a committee of the Foundation's Trustees." The declared purpose of the Foundation in this book is to review the nature and the extent of the economic progress of South Africa as well as the conditions for further economic growth. This is done in two sections. The first, called "South Africa—Land of Opportunity," is an outline of the country's economic history and an assessment of its resources. The second—"The Influence of South African Race Problems on Economic Development"—examines each racial group, its history in South Africa, its contribution to the economy, and the country's policy for future development.

## No Criticism of Policy

The book presents in a clear and factual way, liberally supported by statistics, the economic history and present economic constitution of South Africa. It poses the problems facing the country and presents the Government's solution to these. No criticism of policy, past or present, is offered. Nowhere does it recognize the presence of injustices. Difficulties are presented, but always it is the rationale of Nationalist Party doctrine which is offered as the logical solution to these. An optimistic picture of South Africa is presented as a country with a vibrant economy; with a primitive but contented indigenous population for whom the government is working to provide services and to whom it offers security and protection. Frequently facts are presented frankly, reinforced by startling statistics, and then followed by little or optimistic comment. This strange juxtaposition of alarming fact and cheerful comment is one of the consistent characteristics of this book.

I would like to look briefly at each of the two sections and indicate the method of presentation of the South African scene by the South Africa Foundation. In the first, in establishing historical perspective and presenting war-time and post-war features of the economy, we are told of the worsening of overall terms of trade and

of the enormous flight of capital from the country. We are reassured, however, that in spite of this there is still a massive amount of foreign investment in the country and "the South African economy itself is so vibrant and strong that it generates over 90% of the large current investment funds needed for continued expansion, which is proceeding unabated."

## Housing

The problems of housing and education are presented in the same optimistic vein. Statistics given show the desperate housing shortage for Coloureds in the Cape and Indians in Natal. They show also the enormous influx of Africans from rural to urban areas and the resulting housing problems. However, the section ends with the observation: "The new (Bantu) townships are planned projects with community centres, recreation facilities, Bantu shops and school buildings, the present objective being to provide one primary school for every 800 families." No mention is made of the remoteness of achieving this.

## Education

Similarly, the section on education begins: "A growing proportion of the children of all races attend school, although their facilities are not the same. Nor are the financial commitments of the State. The data below illustrate the position."

There follow tables of statistics, tracing the extent of State aid in education to each of the racial groups from 1910 to 1959. They also indicate that whereas in 1959 the State spent R112.6 million on European education, it spent only R19.5 million on Bantu and R20.6 on Asiatics and Coloureds; that whereas in the same year it spent R163 per pupil in European schools, it spent R13.84 per pupil in Bantu schools (a drop of nearly R2 per head on the 1957 figures) and R50.51 per pupil in Coloured and Asiatic schools.

There is no analysis of these figures. The sentence immediately following the statistics is: "It is clear that the time is fast approaching when illiteracy amongst non-European people will be something of the past."

## Farming

The farming resources of the country are well analysed and interesting statistics emerge, though figures relating to Bantu areas are confusing. European farms represent about 75% of South Africa's total area, the Bantu Reserves about 14%.



We are told later, however, that the Bantu areas comprise land totalling 22½ million acres and that they will eventually comprise 40,250,000 acres or 13.7% of South Africa. I was unable to solve this riddle. However, of the present total Bantu holdings of 22½ million acres, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development estimates that only 5½ million acres are arable and 4¼ are already cultivated. These figures are in no way analysed in relation to population figures nor discussed in conjunction with the Government's Bantustan policy. The poverty of the Reserves is graphically described but the blame for their poor agricultural condition is placed squarely on the tribal system — "The real limiting factor is the Bantu himself."

### The Advent of Liberalism

In the second section — that of "The Influence of South African Race Problems on Economic Development" — non-European policy is traced up to 1948. The advent of Liberalism is described and the beginnings of the conflict between "idealists" and "realists." The indications are, we are told, that Liberalism of the Rousseau school has from the first been imposed on South Africa from without, initially coming with the British troops in 1795 and 1806, and then with the "visionary missionary."

"Conflict was inevitable between people who believed on the one hand in the 'absolute equality of Hottentots and Kaffirs with the Whites if given equal opportunities' and those who, after years of contact with the primitive races, spoke of a haven where there would be none of that 'ungodly equality between Black and White' (Anna Steenkamp, Piet Retief's sister)".

Even the 1820 Settlers displayed virulent colour feeling in spite of only a few years' contact with non-Europeans, when faced with the impending loss of slave labour. It was with the emancipation of slaves that Colonists finally felt themselves to be at their wits' ends, and thousands of them departed to "perpetuate north of the border another policy of racial co-existence with" — and again the quote — "none of that ungodly equality between Black and White'."

Still following the trail of Liberalism we read that "although the general trend of Cape Liberalism had at first been extended to the Bantu also, in time their overwhelming numbers had a modifying effect on racial policy, even in that Colony. The primitive hordes of Bantu were and still are responsible for the strengthening and persistence of anti-liberalism in South Africa."

### Job Reservation

The history of the Indian in South Africa, perhaps of all the groups most easily described and defined, is presented with clarity and accuracy. The history of initial contact with the Bantu too is clearly recounted, and the stupendous and complicated problems of adjustment in later history and the present day clearly presented.

It is only with the presentation of their solutions that one can quarrel. Let me take as an example the history of the legislation leading to Job Reservation.

Bantu urban populations are shown to have increased dramatically over the past forty years, with resulting impact on the European labour force. The non-European has been found to be successfully doing skilled and semi-skilled work in increasing numbers. Also, changes in operating techniques in industry have resulted in once skilled jobs being split into repetitive constituents for which lower wages have been fixed. What were once White jobs have thus become common among non-Whites at non-White rates of pay. This process of "dilution" of skilled jobs continues, and fears resulting from this have culminated in "the most far-reaching colour bar legislation yet to be enacted for secondary and tertiary industry—Job Reservation."

However, far from offering any criticism of this legislation, the following rationale is presented: "Western countries have considered themselves justified in defending the standard of living of their higher paid workers against competition from goods produced in countries whose workers have a much lower standard of living. Job Reservation is an attempt to deal with similar competition within the country. Needless to say, there is much difference of opinion on the details of its application."

### Methods and Objectives of Apartheid

The stated concern of the authors is with South Africa's economic development. In order to present a more complete picture, however, the methods and objectives of apartheid are clearly expounded and reinforced by quotations from the Nationalist Party Election Manifesto of 1948. The policy for future development is outlined almost as from an election platform.

"This new phase in race relations of the mid-twentieth century subjects the non-European and especially the Bantu to restrictions of movement, residence and employment in the European areas, but offers him the fullest possible development in his own areas." And the plea is made: "Grave doubts are entertained in many quarters as to whether South Africa is on the right road to continued peaceful co-existence of its multi-racial peoples. World opinion must not judge South Africa hastily and blindly but on the facts of our problems, on our past achievements in improving human conditions in our country and on our present gigantic efforts to hasten progress further."

In conclusion, the impression left by "South Africa in the Sixties" is that it is a literate and clear presentation of the economic structure of South Africa. It would be a far more valuable document, however, if it confined itself to fact and did not also leave one with the impression that the South Africa Foundation was, through the pages of this book, a mouthpiece of the South African Nationalist Party Government.



## POLICY IN PRACTICE

Stories from the Athlone Advice Office

by BARBARA VERSFELD

Cape Western Region

**K**AISER M . . . is a married man with a worry — one which non-Africans should know about. Kaiser has been married for eight years and has never lived with his wife, never had a home. The law has not allowed it. That is the literal truth, and it applies to the vast majority of African marriages, as family life is normally lawful only under the starvation conditions offered by the Reserves.

### No Right to Live Together

Kaiser goes home from Cape Town to the Transkei on unpaid leave for three months every few years, and occasionally Patience, his wife, visits him in the location in Cape Town. But they don't live together — they have no right to live together. Kaiser has worked for sixteen years, barring holidays, for a big department store in Cape Town; but that does not give his wife any right to live in the area. If they want another baby, they must arrange a visit. **Arrange to visit one's husband in order to conceive a child? Unthinkable!** Well, most non-African South Africans refuse to think about it, shut it out of their minds, forget it by all means, and go right back to their own comfortable routine.

Kaiser wants to live with his wife now—he says it is high time. Patience has come to visit him at Nyanga Township and she has done everything the law requires, from getting permission from the local magistrate before leaving the Transkei to appearing at Langa Registration Office with her "book" within 72 hours of arrival. She produced her return train ticket, too, and undertook to leave within three months and not to take any paid work while here, even if the children are a bit hungry. Kaiser has rented a house (lucky man! . . . houses are scarce . . .), but must keep up payments on his temporarily unused bachelor quarters. He has been striving to obtain a permanent permit for Patience. His firm have vouched for his excellent character, but their testimonial was handed back unopened by the official. His record, carefully filed at Langa with that of every single African in the area, although flawless, was of no help to him. The permit has been refused . . . Influx control, you know! Let us bow before the great God, Policy!

Florence Mg . . . has come to visit her man, too. But she omitted, or forgot, to go first to her magistrate at Umtata, so she must leave again within a fortnight, or become liable for arrest. She wants a baby, and may very well not conceive immediately. Also, she is not feeling too well. She goes to a doctor, who finds her in no state to have an infant, and has given her a note stating that she is "receiving attention." But this envelope has met the same fate as Kaiser's. Only certificates from clinics and hospitals receive any attention at the Registration Office. The officials are not allowed to accept private doctors' opinions. If she can get a hospital certificate before her permit expires, Florence may be granted an extension—if the official is satisfied that she could not be treated back home in Umtata. Treatment for infertility would be farcical some hundreds of miles away from her husband. But the officials are concerned with the application of "policy," which makes no mention of the encouragement of conception among the Bantu.

### Born in Cape Town—No Right of Permanent Residence

There are many unmarried African women who have babies because of the same laws which are keeping married men and women apart. Now here is Sylvia, sloe-eyed, seventeen and pregnant. She was born in Cape Town, but lost her right of permanent residence by spending the last five years with her Granny at Umtata. When Granny died, friends took Sylvia in, and without proper control she very soon became pregnant. Now she has come to her mother, and they are both in need of help, as Sylvia's father is serving a long sentence in gaol. With some difficulty, Sylvia has secured a permit to stay until after the birth of the baby, a hospital having certified her as being unfit to travel. Then she must return to cousins at Umtata. Thus speaks officialdom.

### Advice Office

These are a handful of the local victims of the Pass Laws in action. Their problems and troubles are typical of those brought every day to the small Advice Office at Athlone in the Cape Peninsula, which is run jointly by the Black



Sash and the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. Few know that such a place exists. It is staffed mainly by volunteer workers who give up a morning every week in order to interview between them some twenty to thirty "cases" daily. The work is difficult, and they feel sadly inadequate but compelled to do what they can, for they have discovered how African people in the Republic live, and it has shaken them awake. They feel privileged in their attempts to help.

The facts are profoundly disturbing. Here, for instance, is a lovely young woman, very gentle, with her six-day-old infant in which she seems completely absorbed — her jersey studded with vast safety-pins, and the baby's blanket so clean and proudly new. Her husband deserted her some time ago, leaving her, a visitor from the Reserves, alone. Then she lost her Reference Book and was sent to gaol for being without it. There she stayed for three weeks, until her release after the birth of her baby. So she brought forth a son, her first-born, and laid him on a prison bunk . . .

A worker from the Advice Office will escort her to the right official for an identifying piece of paper, to ensure that she does not get arrested again just yet.

### **Tangled Mass of Red Tape**

The work of the Advice Office is to help Africans in difficulties find their way through the tangled mass of rigidly-applied red tape regulations to a small measure of human justice. The achievement is seldom more than a little easing of their burdens. but a permit extended or a job retrieved makes every effort more than worthwhile, and there is always the hope that one is contributing goodwill, a pledge of determination to do better somehow, some day. Knowing too well that goodwill is not enough, the workers watch the inscrutable patience of their clients with admiration and anxiety.

Let me outline a few more typical cases.

Here is a man who has just returned to Cape Town after a holiday of four months with his wife and children at Cala. As the custom is, he took unpaid leave from his work with a big building concern. Now the firm has less work on hand and is not able to re-employ him. He reported at the Langa Registration Office but was refused permission to seek work through the Labour Pool and told to go back to Cala within a fortnight. There is no work for him there and no money. Without his money the family faces starvation. Is the law aiming to build up an army of malcontents? What are these men to do back in the "Homelands"? There

are no "Border Industries" flourishing as yet, and will things be much more homely if and when there are? But this is the law, this is "Policy." A man may only re-enter the urban area after a break if he is returning to his old employer, no matter what his record. A splendid technique for reducing numbers?

The other possible way of entering an urban area lawfully is to come as a contract labourer. This ensures that the individual cannot remain after the termination of the original job for which he was contracted. So an employee dare not quit a job in which he is unhappy, and a decent employer will be very slow to dismiss a man, even for gross inefficiency. Employers are helpful as a rule, and when they realize the penalty an African must pay for leaving them after absence on holiday, they are often willing to take him on again regardless of their own convenience. This particular man is to be re-employed, at least temporarily, by his old firm, at the request of the Advice Office. Once he has worked there again it will be possible for him to move to another job through the "Labour Pool."

### **The Law Says So!**

While learning the work of advising, I watched a couple plead their case before the Registration Officer one day. They had been married for ten years and had five children, and it had just come to the notice of the authorities that they were living together. Occasionally it does happen! But Mr. X did not qualify to have a wife living with him, because his record of having worked continuously for one employer extended back for only nine years. It should have been ten—the law says so! Having been in the area more than fifteen years herself, his wife apparently qualified by law to remain, but she was unable to produce written proof of this.

An African's wife is his property, although not the sort of property he is entitled to keep by him. Seeing that his own qualification lacked a year, she was endorsed out of the area, ordered to leave within a fortnight for Lady Frere where her husband is blessed with relatives—whom she had never met! X, retained the glorious right to keep his job, move into bachelor quarters — bachelor quarters — and send most of his salary to Lady Frere. The official, when remonstrated with, blustered and grew scarlet. It was as much as his own livelihood was worth to "stretch" his interpretation of the law. He was not enjoying his work.

*(Continued on Page 15)*



## THE CRIME—APARTHEID

# FAMILY DAY IN A COUNTRY THAT DESTROYS FAMILIES

by JESSIE HERTSLET

**S**ENTIMENTALITY is often cultivated by the very people who are hardest on those in their power. One can imagine the whole world laughing when it learns that South Africa has devoted a public holiday to the very image which is being destroyed for her Africans—the family.

The strange thing is that the dominant section in this country has, in its womenfolk, those who have a perfect genius for homemaking. Never can I forget the wonderful Afrikaner homes that I have been fortunate enough to visit, even in the old days when the men were served first at table, and we women waited on them.

How these experts in family life can have let their men enact the cruel laws that have devastated Bantu homes is a mystery. Or is that all part of the South African habit of curbing the imagination and power of thought on any prickly subject? A very intelligent woman said to me: "Oh, does migrant labour interfere with home life?" Migrant labour was politics, in which she was not interested . . . nothing to do with the welfare work in which she spent herself.

### Forcibly Separated

Doctors and nurses, and often their relatives, get a closer insight into real life than other people. To have seen in the shadows of the hut a young father caring for his dying child (and half the Bantu babies still die) gives one knowledge of the feelings of those 12,000 "bachelors" at Langa who are married. And of how many more among the migrant labourers in all our city areas, who are forcibly separated from the children they love.

Family life . . . Let us for once give our imagination free rein, and try to picture those "bachelors" noting the word "Family" on hoardings or in the newspapers which many of them read, and then casting their thoughts to the far-away Reserve where their family is battling for existence on the meagre allowance forwarded month by month.

Or the woman who has tried in vain to join the man in her life, but has been "endorsed out", and cannot control the young sons who know no father's hand and constantly defy her.

Or the illegitimate boy who does not know who is his father, but wonders what "family" means, as he is handed from one old relative to another.

Or the teen-ager who is half-educated and trying to pick up jobs, but has no home and is heading for delinquency.

Even when an African family is allowed to live together in a township, this is generally so far from work that the father and often the mother can see little of the children. They spend hours in travel and pay for it with money that should be spent on food.

The Border industries idea has doubtless in view the ending of all this loss of family life, but it is being worked out far too slowly to halt the evils of Bantu homelessness to-day.

If we would only face our industrial age, co-existent with the sheer inadequacy of the depleted and over-crowded Reserves, we should see that the longed-for apartheid cannot come for decades, if ever. Forcing it upon the population all in a year or two is dangerous. It means killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

### True Gold of South Africa

The true gold of South Africa is the abundant cheap labour. The African of our land is a patient, obedient worker, who does well in repetitive tasks, though he has not much taste for agriculture. But this character of his is not just an accident. Are we not yet intelligent enough to know that every man is what his early years have made him? Did psychologists enlighten the world in vain for us?

There is something behind the genial character of the average African, and that is the mothering he got up to and after the coming of the next baby, when he could live his own life. The warm mother's back gave him a sense of complete security; everyone encouraged him to talk and admired his efforts to walk and run. He had his own little nurse-girl, in his own familiar home.

But when he grew up enough to tend the goats or calves, he came under his father's control and learned to be tough and obedient.

Change all this pleasant childhood into what it is now in tens of thousands of cases, and what can we expect? In a few decades the character of the desired cheap labour will have completely altered. There are already signs of the change. The strong resentment, hitherto noticed in another section of our multi-racial population, is showing in the Africans.

White people are nervous about even one or two months of mismanagement for a beloved child. It might spoil his temper! It might give her a sense of insecurity! But the fatherless Black child has a lifetime of it.

People who feel themselves insecure are too often bad-tempered or even vicious. Small children who are "endorsed out" along with their mothers often wander from pillar to post. We hear of unfortunate women travelling back and forth between the Transkei and town because no place can be found for them.



## A New Type of Gypsy

Family Day . . . There was the family sent away from a farm because the man was found to be tubercular. With his wife and two small children he tramped to the nearest dorp and its location. There the wife had another baby. They had no right to be there, but the man died and had to be buried in a non-statutory manner. The woman had to go, and the last heard of her was on the road with her three children.

What can those children become but a new type of gypsy utterly insecure, probably ill with kwashiorkor or the like, with no morality to speak of?

It seems likely that we shall get a gypsy population — useless for industrial labour — unless this deprivation of settled home-life comes to a speedy end.

Even if the aim is in future to pack most of the Africans into Reserves around industries, for the time being let them live in families wherever there is work to keep them alive and together. A family in a shack can produce better people than homeless wanderers crowding into a slum or a kraal already too full.

## Evil Custom

Touching sentiments uttered by leading men about saving the nation do nothing to halt the horrible insecurity which is damaging the small children of our African nation.

Professed Christianity, humanity, the social conscience, have all failed to check our evil custom of migrant labour. The intelligence of our industrialists may be guided by material motives to stop the rot that will ruin their labour before long.

But those who love South Africa for herself can yet save her by facing up to the truth.

*(Re-printed from the "Cape Times")*

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## POLICY IN PRACTICE

*(Continued from Page 13)*

That was nearly a year ago. The application of these laws has become stricter since. Husbands and wives must both qualify individually as permanent residents in order to be allowed to live together in an urban area, and moreover they must be able to prove that they have normally resided together. How can they do this when they have never been allowed to start residing together? They are trapped in a network of utterly impossible conditions. There is to be further erosion of their few rights under the new Bantu Laws Amendment Act. Paper bureaucracy has run mad.

What, oh what, are we going to do about it?

## BLACK SASH FAMILY DAY RETREAT

**TO MARK** their distress over the break-up of African family life through the operation of the Apartheid laws, groups of Black Sash women in Cape Town and Johannesburg repeated the gesture made by Cape Western members last Christmas by spending twenty-four hours in retreat, in silence and under austerity conditions, from the 7th to the 8th July—"Family Day."

In Johannesburg, the retreat was opened at 6 p.m. on Sunday, 7th July, with a short ceremony in St. Mary's Cathedral, conducted by the Rev. Eric Richardson. His moving address to those going "into the silence" appears in the following pages.

The night and day were spent in the Darragh Hall on a diet of bread and water, in bitterly cold conditions. During the day, addresses were given by Methodist and Presbyterian ministers and a Jewish Rabbi. At intervals, suitable readings were given by Black Sash members.

In Cape Town, the twenty-four hours were spent in an empty room, in silence. In an explanatory letter published in the "Cape Times," our Cape Town members said:

"We hope to show our continued awareness of the plight of the thousands of African men, women and children who must annually spend this Family Day away from their families, because the laws and customs of our land do not allow African citizens the rights which all others—Whites, Coloured people and Indians—are able to take for granted.

"We know that many of the electorate are quite unaware of this hardship and that others are thoughtless of it, or take it for granted that the migrant labour system is the lot of Africans. One of the greatest tragedies in our country is that this migrant labour system has had to become the pattern of African family life.

"We wish to express our sorrow to all those who suffer enforced family separation, and to let them know that there are people who understand their plight and who will continue to work to change it.

"We are also constantly aware of the patience with which those who suffer have borne this burden through the years.

"On this 1963 Family Day we also cannot fail to give our thoughts to those thousands whose families have been disrupted by arrests for political offences, offences which, but for the burden of unjust laws, might never have been committed.

"We are convinced that if Africans had been able to live under the same laws as we do, we would all today be looking forward confidently to a settled, peaceable and stable way of life."



## THE CITY HALL STEPS — JOHANNESBURG'S TRADITIONAL FORUM



(By courtesy of the "Star")



## THE CRIME, APARTHEID—THE PENALTY, ISOLATION

On the 22nd October, 1963, during the course of the Annual National Conference of the Black Sash in Johannesburg, approximately fifty Black Sash women held a poster demonstration outside the Stock Exchange in Hollard Square. The picture below shows a portion of the demonstration.

### The Posters

#### THE CRIME, APARTHEID

Racial discrimination,

- + forced removals,
- + broken families,
- + job reservation,
- + wastage of manpower,
- + crammed jails,
- + 90-day detention,
- + bannings,

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#### INHUMANITY

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#### THE PENALTY,

#### WORLD CONDEMNATION:

Exclusion from:

- world conferences,
- + world thought,
- + world markets,
- + air space,
- + sport,
- + art and culture,
- + science.

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#### ISOLATION.

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(By courtesy "Rand Daily Mail")

#### THE CITY HALL STEPS

(Pictures on left) Top: One of the earliest demonstrations held by the Black Sash on the Johannesburg City Hall steps to mark the dissolution of the old Senate in November, 1955.

Bottom: The last demonstration on "the steps," held in September, 1963, just before a second ban on "gatherings" in the vicinity of the City Hall was applied.



## FAMILY DAY RETREAT

Preliminary Address by  
Father ERIC RICHARDSON

**I**T would be as well, I think, to begin by attempting to look into the motives behind the rather extraordinary behaviour of the women of the Black Sash in deciding to "withdraw," as they call it, for 24 hours. The day that they have chosen to engage upon this exercise is one that is generally observed as "Family Day."

Yesterday I understand they undertook one of their characteristic demonstrations: on this occasion, against some legislation, the effect of which is considered by them to be likely to militate against the very virtues of family life for the preservation of which we are especially called upon this day to pray. It is considered by them to be somewhat hypocritical for the religious-minded people of this country to pray that a high regard be paid to the institution of the family, whilst at the same time they ignore in complacency the fact that the highly desirable condition of a stable family life is in some instances, and for some sections of the population, made impossible—not by the misbehaviour of the mother and father so much as by the requirements of the legislation proposed.

Indeed there is little doubt that if the proposed legislation will have the effect of making family life in some circumstances impossible—even if in only a handful of cases—the Black Sash is abundantly justified in thus challenging the Christian community on this score, in the hope that they may add to the growing doubts as to the justice of the measure the formidable opposition of the Churches. Their opposition, that is, to the effects of the proposal on the lives of those who are likely to suffer from it. For though it may be possible to remain unconvinced that the principle behind the Act is wrong, the Christian cannot fail to raise a voice in opposition whenever the implementation of legislation brings suffering and deprivation to any family or individual.

### The Christian's Duty

It seems to me that Christians are entirely justified in using the scriptural touchstone, "by their fruits ye shall know them," when considering their attitude to any official policy. If in its enforcement there is a lack of charity and justice, then unless we are vociferous in our opposition, we shall fall under St. Augustine's declaration to the effect that "he who stands aside and sees injustice done is guilty of that injustice himself." It would not be the first time that the Christian's duty has had to be pointed out to him by those outside the Church.

It is not a little surprising that the undoubtedly strong Christian community in this country, with, of course, notable exceptions, has been so indifferent to the moral conflict that is at the root of our situation. It has no doubt something

to do with the specious and yet generally accepted opinion that the European civilization, that we are called upon with such fervour to defend, includes, and is inextricably bound up with, the Christian faith. But the faith is universal, and whilst we have no business defending the many evils there are in Western civilization, we have no need to despair in defence of what is good, for that in the end will inevitably conquer, shedding unessentials and the inferior accretions of any particular social or national culture. The trouble lies in the fact that we Christians fail to have sufficient faith in the inevitability of God's ultimate victory, and instead of boldly meeting change or strange new situations with our hand in God's, we tend to think that God needs the support of our stubborn conservatism.

But in the face of this accusation of hypocrisy, you might respond by claiming that there is equal hypocrisy in that the Black Sash enters a church and engages in what is a typically religious activity—withdrawal—when only a small proportion of its members have anything in the way of a deep religious conviction. Does not this smack of the typical Communistic tactic of using religion and the Church to bolster their claim to the allegiance of the religiously-minded?

### Religion and Politics

For though it is true that some people claim that religion ought not to be dragged into politics, because the latter brooks no interference and resents all opposition, others there are, a vast body of ordinary people, who genuinely and

sincerely feel that to mix the two does not so much hamper politics as degrade their most sacred beliefs and drag them from the church to the market place. And whereas those who make such a dichotomy could not be more wrong than to try to keep their faith all neatly packed away from those spheres where its evangel is the most needed, I cannot but understand and sympathize with their acute distress.

Like, for instance, the police officer beside whom I stood watching a Black Sash demonstration service. He was deeply offended, and felt that his God was being cheapened. For him, I felt that love, prayer and sympathy were called for. For here is an example of a modern Pharisee—a good, upright and religious man, the quality of whose private life would probably put us to shame, but who has failed lamentably to prevent his respectable prejudices from blinding him to the uncomfortable consequences of his Christian profession in the political and national sphere.

If, however, this "withdrawal" of the Black Sash were indeed a public demonstration, organized to attract attention, we Christians would have, perhaps, some justification in showing little sympathy with such a blatant attempt to obtain publicity and support for the axe they have to grind. But many of those I know well are not doing this quite in that spirit—and I hope that, in fact, none are.

### Act of Self-Denial

That it is a demonstration of a sort, I cannot deny. It is, however, primarily a token acceptance by the privileged of a short period of discomfort, that they may, in some small way, voluntarily associate themselves with those who spend their whole lives in comparative discomfort. It is saying to the under-privileged section of our population, *"We are conscious that we are privileged and you are not, that we suffer little and have few frustrations, whilst you suffer and are greatly frustrated. We cannot escape our condition entirely, perhaps because we are not sufficiently courageous, or because we cannot inflict injury on those who are dependent upon us since we are not free agents. But we desire, by this act, to show that we care and are with you in your difficulties at least in spirit. We appreciate that it cannot help you very much save perhaps to give you the knowledge that we care sufficiently to make an act of self-denial."*

If I am right in thus partly interpreting your motivation, then I believe that what you do is effective, at least in so far as you show the privileged disrobing themselves of the benefits of the privileged for a short space, by self-denial and by the glad acceptance of the taunts and sneers of your peers. Only you who are privileged can make this sort of demonstration.

### Search for Spiritual Strength

But there is, I suspect, another worthy motivation. I have noticed the slow numerical impoverishment of your movement from the impressive mass demonstrations of the early days, when you were creating a sensation and your members swelled with people of shallow thought, who felt impelled to climb on the band-wagon but whose convictions flickered and died out in the dusty and arid days of routine standing and haunting; to the time when public opinion swung a little  
(Continued overleaf)

### HAPPY HOME LIFE

**I** READ an account of an interview with Mrs. Verwoerd recently which gave me great pleasure.

Our Prime Minister's wife described her happy family life and her unremitting and personal care of her husband and children. She has always bathed her children herself, she says, and goes on to tell us how important a wife's companionship is to her husband.

I am an old woman, and often shocked these days by what I read about the lives of those in high places. This account of proper domestic happiness in one of our most important households should have given me great satisfaction.

But I began to think of our other families; less important in the public eye, but no less so in the sight of God.

African mothers, too, would like to bath their own children and put them to bed. They, too, know the value to a man of his wife's constant companionship.

Yet, these fundamental human needs are denied to so many people in this country because of their colour. Not for any fault, idleness, lawlessness, but for that inescapable physical fact.

I would like to thank Mrs. Verwoerd for her example of domestic bliss. I would like to ask her to use her great influence with her husband to bring about a greater humanity in our laws, so that the happy home life might be within reach of all of us in this country.—ERNESTINE FOUCHE.

(*"Rand Daily Mail"*)



from admiration to scorn and impatience. To-day, the pathetically thin stands of the faithful few create little impression on the large mass of the European population, and I suspect that there may be, among those who have remained faithful, moments of despair. It may be that the kind of thing you do on *this* occasion is indicative of a very important development in which lies a great hope for the Sash's continued existence, in spite of periods of apparent failure to make any progress whatsoever. The cry, "What good will it do?"—by which, evidently, is meant, "What practical effect will it have?"—is the expression of the beginning of a process which may well end in a person's giving up the Sash because it is no longer "successful" and is no longer achieving visible results. Such a basis of evaluation is as specious as the enthusiasm enkindled at Pretoria in the early days. The really impressive successes of the Sash are not so easily discernible, for they lie in the hearts and minds of individuals. I would like to believe—and I do not think that I have no justification for this—that behind the compulsion to "withdraw" is *inter alia*, a new and more healthy humility which causes you to have a better appreciation of what is demanded of you in pursuing your programme of protest. What is demanded from you personally, I mean. And, in the face of what is demanded, an appreciation of the need of a grace of courage and perseverance which is greater than that of which you are capable in your own strength. And then, as a result of that realization, a turning to the long-established practice of a religious person—by which I mean one who acknowledges that, in the words of a well-known prayer, "we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves"—the practice of silence and self-denial, and a searching for sources of strength from without.

When you go into the silence, I suggest that you commence with an examination of your motives, an assessment of your personal failures, to culminate in a private act of penitence and prayer for forgiveness. I consider this important if you are to receive, as I hope you will, any personal benefit and inspiration from your withdrawal. It is the pre-requisite of any approach to God and any blessing from God.

### **The Classic Story of Protest Against Evil**

I suggest that next you examine the classic story of protest against evil that is recorded in the story of the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Dwell particularly on the apparent failure

## **Obituary**

### **MRS. GLADYS EPSTEIN**

**M**R. GLADYS EPSTEIN, who died recently in Johannesburg, was a foundation member of the Black Sash, and a member of the original committee. She subsequently served on the Southern Transvaal Regional Committee for several years.

Mrs. Epstein will be remembered particularly as one of the leaders of the anti-Senate Act convoy to Cape Town, when, with her sister, Mrs. Marjorie Bowman, she took charge of one of the four sub-convoys from the Transvaal. Her qualities of leadership, undoubtedly the result of her experience as an ambulance driver in London during the "blitz," were reflected in her kindly discipline and unremitting concern for the welfare of the women under her care, who affectionately christened her "Sergeant-Major."

For the last few years of her life, Mrs. Epstein was unable to take an active part in Black Sash affairs, as a series of operations to her eyes had left her almost blind. She bore her affliction with the greatset courage.

We will remember her with great affection and respect.

and suffering that was the prelude to victory over evil. In this story it was not numbers and mass demonstrations that won the day. The march into Jerusalem appears as a triumphant procession, the prelude to a glorious revolution, but it faded out into a small band of dispirited yet faithful disciples who, because of their faith, inherited the victory . . . And then, dwell on the new Commandment that was to be the characteristic of the quiet yet persistent revolution, "that ye love one another."

And finally, you will have more time and opportunity for prayer than ever before — but remember that prayer is a two-way exercise and includes not only petition but an attitude of responsiveness to what God has to say to heart and mind.

It is because I believe that your motivation includes two things — a token vicarious suffering and a desire to seek a spiritual strength from withdrawal — that I cannot withhold my blessing on what you are about to undertake, and I pray that it may be productive of benefit to your own soul, and to your campaign against those things which you so clearly see as blemishes in the body politic.

# THE GROUP AREAS ACT AND VERULAM

By SYBIL ADAMS

**A**N INTERESTING SITUATION has arisen in the small township of Verulam on the Natal North Coast, where, for the first time in the twelve years since the Group Areas Act was passed, a request has been made for an entire township to be declared an Indian Group Area.

Verulam was originally settled by the Bryne Settlers in 1845, but the White settlers were gradually outnumbered by the Indians, who first arrived about ten years later. In 1921, the number of Europeans totalled 272, and there is now a White population of 257, most of whom are "birds of passage", being civil servants, railway, postal and bank employees, etc. So it can be seen that Verulam is not attracting new, permanent, White residents. On the other hand, there has been a steady increase in the Indian population over the years, so that now there are 1,809 Indians within the township and about 5,000 in the adjoining areas, a clear preponderance.

These figures can be supported by the facts that Indians pay the greater portion of the rates, own the greater acreage, have the larger number of businesses, own the only factories, and have 2,517 children attending local schools as against 100 White children.

From the White minority is drawn an all-White Town Board, which has refused to share local government with the Indian majority, in contrast to the neighbouring township of Tongaat, which has on its Board two Indians. Under this all-White Board, there has been no provision for sub-economic or economic housing for the Indian community, and whereas the Europeans can buy land at a nominal sum, Indians have to pay up to ten times as much for similar sites. The necessity for a permit under the Land Tenure Act when property changes hands between a White and a non-White has led to fantastically inflated prices for the Indian purchasers, and a limiting of the normal expansion which they would otherwise have made. In addition, Verulam Indians have recently been deprived of the use of their nearest beach, Umhloti Beach, by that area's Health Committee, some of whom are members of the Verulam Town Board.

In spite of such hardships and injustices, the Indians in Verulam wished to preserve harmonious race relations, and the initiative in requesting an immediate hearing before the Group Areas Board came not from them (as they have never wanted to be a party to the implementation of the Act), but from the White ratepayers. The Indian community were unanimous in their request that the



(“The Star”)

Town Board should ask the Group Areas Board to advise the Minister that there was no need for racial zoning in Verulam at all.

This the Town Board refused to do, so the Verulam Group Areas Committee itself, at a hearing on July 11th and 12th, recommended that the Group Areas Board advise the Minister on these lines.

The Town Board's lack of co-operation has roused a volume of Indian opinion, which feels that should this recommendation fail, and Verulam be declared for a single race group, in all fairness the entire township should be declared an Indian Group Area. In such an event, however, these Indian ratepayers have undertaken to support the granting of permits to prevent the uprooting of any White householder or businessman.

It would appear that the Verulam Indians have a clear-cut case, which puts the Group Areas Act on trial . . . What will be the outcome?

(Since this article was written, the Natal South Coast township of Isipingo has been proclaimed an Indian Group Area, and 2,000 Whites will have to move. At the same time, certain areas around Durban have been proclaimed White, and 64,000 Indians will be displaced.)



# SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION (4)

by MURIEL FISHER

**THIS ARTICLE**, the fourth part of Mrs. Fisher's survey of the changing scene in Africa, deals with Libya, Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia; and with the islands of Zanzibar and a possible East African Federation. The fifth section, which follows, covers the ill-fated Central African Federation. In her concluding article, Mrs. Fisher will discuss our own country's position and the possible lessons to be learned by South Africa from the African Revolution.

**LIBYA**, which Italy seized from Turkey in 1911 and attempted to colonize, was granted independence by the United Nations in 1951, and has a federal government under King Idris.

Only about 1% of the land is arable, and the coastal strips are at most 50 miles wide. The population is mostly Arab-Berber, but there are still thousands of Italians in Tripolitania. Lybia is a poor country, but recent discoveries of oil are helping its economic development.

The country is allied neither to the West nor to Egypt next door.

## **Egypt.**

Egypt is a country of extreme poverty and extreme wealth. Twenty-five million people are crowded into a country with only six million square miles of arable land, with a concentration of 16,000 to the square mile, most of them half-starved.

In 1952, Egypt revolted, or Cairo did, and the army under General Naguib seized power, threw the fat, corrupt and cynical King Farouk out and dissolved all the old political parties. Naguib did not last long, and soon Colonel Nasser became President. He is clever, unpredictable and bold, and one has only to recall the events of the past ten years — the war with Israel, the seizing of the Suez Canal, and the fiasco of the invasion by the British and the French — to realize the strength of his hold on Egypt.

In 1958, Nasser joined Egypt and Syria to form the United Arab Republic, with Cairo as its capital and himself as its head.

Three years later the Syrian army revolted against Nasser's domination and Syria became independent again, though Egypt retains the name of the U.A.R.

Egypt remains the focal point of the Arab world; but Nasser would like to dominate Africa as a whole, and to this end Cairo pours out a constant stream of radio propaganda to all African states, and has harboured many African political refugees. Nevertheless, the U.A.R. is not a Communist

country, although its nationalism is anti-West and much of its trade is with Russia.

Egypt's life is the Nile, the world's longest river (4,160 miles), on which the 30 millions of Egypt and the Sudan Republic depend. Every year the "Miracle of the Flood" occurs, and the river rises up to 26 feet at Aswan. President Nasser's dream has long been to build a great new dam above the existing one at Aswan, to hold most of the flood water in reserve and double Egypt's arable land. As half of the Nile flows through the Sudan, the U.A.R. agreed in 1959 to pay £15 million in compensation for the flooding of Wadi Halfa and Nubia as the result of the lake which will stretch 300 miles upstream when the new dam is completed. In 1955, America, Britain and the World Bank had almost agreed to finance the dam, but withdrew their offer, and the Suez conflict followed. In 1958, Russia agreed to finance the beginning of the new dam, and work was begun in 1960.

## **The Sudan Republic.**

The Sudan was governed by the British in a nominal condominium with Egypt from 1898 until 1953, when with British help and training it became a republic. The North is a populous, enlightened, mainly Moslem area; the South sparsely populated with primitive, pagan and often naked people, although some of the negroes are Christians. In 1958, when the elections left the President with insufficient power to rule, the army, under General Abboud, took over to restore law and order in a peaceful manner, and still retains power.

The Sudan has always resisted Egyptian efforts to unify the Nile countries, though Egypt controls the Nile within the Sudan. Like Egypt, the Sudan has accepted Russian financial aid, but she has also asked the United States for financial and technical assistance.

## **Ethiopia.**

Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, is unique among the states of Africa in that it has been Christian (Coptic) since the 4th century, though surrounded

by Moslem states, and, except for five years of Italian domination (1936-1941), has remained as an independent monarchy. The Italians liberated a great number of slaves, although the Emperor, **Haile Selassie**, had promised the League of Nations that slavery would be wiped out. Even today, Ethiopia is not entirely free of the taint.

Chiefs have little power, because the Emperor is an absolute ruler, but in 1960 there was a revolt against his regime, which was soon crushed. In 1950, the Northern area of Eritrea became federated with Ethiopia, providing a sea coast and two new ports, **Massawa** and **Assab**, but the country's chief port is still **Djibuti** in French Somaliland.

### **Somalia.**

Ethiopian relations with the neighbouring Somalis in the "**Horn of Africa**" are always uneasy and the borders have never been defined.

The strategic importance of the entrance to the Red Sea brought three European powers into this arid area in the late 19th century. The French acquired a small piece and built the port **Djibuti**, **British Somaliland** was established in 1887 and **Italian Somaliland** two years later.

After Italy's defeat in 1941, Britain administered both her own and the Italian territory and encouraged the political advance of the Somalis, until they became the independent republic of Somalia in 1960. The **Somali Youth League** is, however, working to incorporate in the Republic all Somalis now in the French territory, in Ethiopia and in Kenya, of which the northern part is mainly a Somali area. The idea is for this part to secede before Kenya gains her independence. It is possible that this incorporation plan may lead to considerable friction with Ethiopia and with Kenya

## **ZANZIBAR AND EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION**

**T**HE ISLANDS of the quiet little Zanzibar Sultanate are inhabited by some 200,000 Shirazi, 17,000 Tamils, the professional and trading classes, which include the Aga Khan's followers, and an aristocracy of 50,000 Arabs.

Until 1956 no wind of change had stirred the air of these green, clove-scented islands, where the Sultan ruled under British protection. In that year, however, the Legislative Council received its first elected members and by the 1961 Constitution the Arab Sultan became a constitutional monarch with an elected legislature.

Sleepy Zanzibar wakes up only at election time. In the past two-and-a-half years there have been three general elections. The first in 1961 was a dead-heat. In the second, soon after, the Zanzibar National Party in alliance with the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, both Arab-orientated, narrowly defeated the Afro-Shirazi Party which has close connections with the African states. Rioting followed in which many lives were lost. The racial problem, in which for once Whites are not involved, is African against Arab, a legacy of the old days when the Arab dhows sailed away laden with African slaves.

The third election, held in July this year, with armed guards to prevent rioting, produced a record poll of 99% and another close victory for the ruling alliance.

The constitutional talks in London in September ended with the announcement that Zanzibar's Independence Day will be December 10th this year.

Even that prospect does not stir the somnolent Zanzibari. Even their poverty does not rouse them to effort. Their exports have fallen, since cloves are now a glut on the market, but the growers do not take readily to producing new crops such as rice or cocoa.

Economically, therefor, Zanzibar can scarcely

stand alone. If the proposed East African Federation comes into being, she will probably join it.

### **The East African Federation.**

In July 1963, as a direct result of the Summit Conference at Addis Ababa, the prospects of federation between the three East African states, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, grew very much brighter than before, and a great deal of preliminary work has been done.

Now, however, there is some cooling-off on the part of Uganda. Prime Minister Milton Obote feels that it is impossible to create a federal constitution before the end of the year. Obviously "King Freddie," the Kabaka or King of Buganda, is having second thoughts about his position in a federation, and since Mr. Obote holds office only by the support of the Kabaka's Yekka party, he must use delaying tactics.

Zanzibar is also expressing some doubts and is in no hurry to join the Federation, though her participation is not essential to the success of the scheme.

It will be interesting to see whether Kenya and Tanganyika will be able to overcome those obstacles and set up an East African Federation, just as the Central African Federation is dissolved.





# SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION (5)

## The Central African Federation

by MURIEL FISHER

**O**NE of the most interesting political experiments in Africa, the Central African Federation, has failed after a brief and troubled ten years. With it goes the failure, too, of a second great experiment, multi-racial "partnership," which vitally affects us in South Africa. To understand why these twin ventures did not succeed, we must look at the history of the three territories of the dying Federation.

The names most intimately connected with the Rhodesias are those of **Livingstone**, the missionary, and **Cecil John Rhodes**. Livingstone's was the Christian and ethical influence, Rhodes's the Empire-building, which really means the money-making one.

Not that Livingstone under-estimated the power of commerce and trade as a weapon in the fight against slavery. In 1849, on his famous journey across Africa, when he crossed the Kalahari and discovered the Upper Zambesi, he also discovered the "great crime" of that era, the Slave Trade. Although the Emancipation Act had been in force since 1833, the grim story of the West African slave trade was being repeated in Central and East Africa.

Livingstone's own estimate was that of the millions taken from Africa ten lives were lost in the cruel slave caravans for every slave delivered to a slave ship. His famous appeal at Cambridge in 1857 for help in his work of stamping out slavery ("I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work I have begun. I leave it with you") caused a great missionary campaign to spread over all of Central Africa, followed, of course, by the trader. The missionary brought Christianity, education and the idea of the brotherhood of man, the trader transformed a primitive tribal society into a Black proletariat. To-day, a century later Southern Africa is reaping the harvest sown by those early pioneers.

### A Brief History of the Three Territories.

**Southern Rhodesia:** The history of the White man in Southern Rhodesia is a short one. It was in 1890, within living memory, that Rhodes, obsessed with his vision of extending the British Empire to the North and lured by the gold of Mashonaland, organized the famous Pioneer Column. One hundred wagons and horsemen set out from Bechuanaland, bypassed **Lobenguela** in Matabeleland, struggled over mountains and

rivers, and three months later planted the Union Jack in Mashonaland and built a fort named after Lord Salisbury.

The early days of the little colony were hard and dangerous. Inevitably war against the Matabeles came in 1893, ending with the destruction of Lobenguela's empire and the founding of the town of Bulawayo on the ruins of his royal kraal. After the Mashona rebellion, three years later, had been quelled, and with the building of the railway and the increased output of gold, the young country began to progress.

As the settlers grew more numerous and powerful, they resented the rule of the Chartered Company, and in 1923 Southern Rhodesia was formally annexed to the Crown and granted responsible government.

As far back as 1894, when land was being given to White men, provision was made, though in a rather perfunctory manner, for Native Reserves, which became the basis for the Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Act, one of the most burning problems in the territory to-day.

The 1923 Constitution provided for these Reserves rather more generously than in South Africa and the Land Apportionment Act was amended over the years until in 1959 European areas consisted of some 48 million acres and African areas just under 42 million. The population ratio is about 3½ million Africans to ¼ million Whites, or 13 to one.

That Act established the principle of racial segregation in Southern Rhodesia, and the attempt to repeal it, even progressively, was a major cause of the fall of **Sir Edgar Whitehead's** government in December 1962.

The story of **Northern Rhodesia and Barotse-land** is a very different one and the reason why Northern Rhodesia is not a truly multi-racial country. It has about 80,000 Whites to 2½ million Africans, because **Lewanika**, the Barotse king, one of the very few chiefs who would not permit slave trading, also refused to allow Europeans, other than missionaries, to settle in his land.

In 1889 he asked for British protection against his greatest enemies, the Matabele, but it took years of negotiation and argument about boundaries before a Resident Commissioner arrived in Barotseland. Finally in 1924 the whole of Northern Rhodesia became a British Protectorate, with Barotseland one of the last strongholds of tribal rule.

**Nyasaland**, with a population of nearly 3 million Africans and about 10,000 Whites belonged in Livingstone's time to no European power. With no one to maintain law and order the early missionaries met with disaster from disease and tribal wars and the slave trade flourished. The Portuguese controlled the East Coast, so that British troops were unable to enter the interior to protect the missionaries, until a new channel was discovered by which British ships would enter the Zambesi.

In 1889 several chiefs asked for British protection, and in 1891 the territory was formally declared a Protectorate, though it was not called Nyasaland until 1907, when the first Legislative Council was set up.

### Amalgamation Proposals Rejected

Thus in the ten years from 1890 to 1900 slavery was abolished and law and order and civilized administration were brought to the whole of the vast territory from the Limpopo to the borders of the Congo. It was not unnatural, therefore, that Federation of these three great countries should be considered.

Amalgamation proposals as early as 1927 were rejected by Southern Rhodesia on the grounds of Northern Rhodesia's backwardness. To-day Northern Rhodesian copper beats tobacco and gold as the top export of the Federation.

In 1929 the Hilton Young Commission considered the future of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and also Nyasaland. They recommended a separate East African group, with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in a common administration, but Sir Hilton Young himself favoured a closer grouping of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Britain, however, opposed this amalgamation, believing that the problems of Native development were a British responsibility.

Then came the depression of 1931/2, when most of the copper mines were closed down and White men worked on the roads with pick and shovel. When Southern Rhodesia was recovering and young **Mr. Godfrey Huggins**, now Lord Malvern, came to power at the head of a strong United Party government, a further move began towards federation. The British Government, still opposed to the idea, appointed the Bledisloe Commission, which found that the stumbling-block was the divergence between Native policy in Southern Rhodesia and that of the two almost completely Black Protectorates. It was not in favour of the amalgamation at that stage, to the great disappointment of the White public of the Rhodesias.

The War brought great expansion and prosperity to Southern Rhodesia, but even with the post-war flood of capital and immigrants, federation was not forgotten. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were moving forward constitutionally, **Mr. Roy Welensky** was as determined on amalgamation as **Sir Godfrey Huggins** and both were backed by **Sir Malcolm Barrow** of Nyasaland. Britain remained adamant for two reasons: (1), the difference in Native policies North and South of the Zambesi, and (2), African opposition to being governed by the White settlers of Southern Rhodesia.

That opposition, even stronger to-day, is the root cause of the present collapse of the Central African Federation.

### Federal Scheme

Britain was, however, prepared to consider a federal scheme which would give closer political and economic association, while leaving the Africans of the two Protectorates still under the direct control of the Colonial Office.

For four years a series of conferences hammered out a federal scheme and when the Labour Government fell in 1952, the Conservatives were more sympathetic. The whole future of race relations in the three territories was to be based on a policy of partnership between the races, but Native policy would remain a territorial, not a Federal matter, so that the Colonial Office could continue its Protectorate responsibility.

In 1953 the scheme was complete, with two lists dividing up legislative responsibility: the **Federal** list, including external affairs, finance, defence, immigration and in Southern Rhodesia European agriculture, conservation, European education, higher education for all races, Police, National Park, etc., and the **Concurrent** list covering subjects on which both Federal and Territorial governments could legislate (Federal having priority), such as roads, electricity, industrial development, broadcasting and prisons (both now Federal).

Everything not mentioned on these lists, e.g. Native Affairs, was the province of each Territorial Government. The Constitution was to be reviewed in 7 to 10 years' time.

Public opinion still had to be consulted. In the two Protectorates the British Government made the decision, but Southern Rhodesia held a referendum with a high poll of 83% of the electorate, of which 63% voted in favour of federation. **Sir Godfrey Huggins** became the first Federal Prime Minister, with **Sir Roy Welensky** and **Sir Malcolm Barrow** as his Ministers. A powerful government came into being, pledged to achieve the main objects of federation, one of which was the strengthening of the economic resources of the three territories.

Northern Rhodesia had copper, Southern Rhodesia minerals, tobacco, maize and secondary industries and Nyasaland, the poorest of the three, tea, coffee, cotton, tobacco and tung oil.

The first essential was cheap electricity, independent of coal or the railways, and the old dream of harnessing the mighty Zambesi became



the reality of Kariba. The dam was a triumph of engineering and endurance and a great act of faith in the future of the Federation. The estimated cost was 80 million.

## The African Revolution

Why then, with these advantages of mineral and agricultural wealth, and with all the energy and will to succeed, does the Federation now lie dying? The answer lies in the colossal African Revolution which we have witnessed in the past ten years.

The great colonial Empires of Britain, France, Belgium and Italy have disappeared almost overnight and been replaced by Black states, some fully independent like Ghana, Nigeria, all the former French colonies, the two Congo Republics, Uganda and, very shortly, Kenya. This tremendous tidal wave of African nationalism reached its peak in 1960, the year chosen by the Federation for the review of its constitution.

From the beginning the British Government under-estimated the extent and power of African opposition to Federation in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the depth of African fear of domination by the Whites of Southern Rhodesia. Many Africans had earned good wages in Southern Rhodesia, but, as they said, it was a good place in which to work, but a bad place in which to live. The colour bar was too much in evidence. Furthermore, the expressed aim of the Federation was full independence within the Commonwealth, which implied complete removal of British control and protection of the two Protectorates.

## African Nationalism

Trouble first came to a head in Nyasaland in 1959. African National Congress leaders, elected to the Legislative Council, got rid of the moderate **Mr. Wellington Chirwa** and in 1958 brought **Dr. Hastings Banda** back from England, via Ghana, to be the symbol of African Nationalism. His tours of Nyasaland, though he had forgotten his language and could only speak English, caused such a wave of violence and sabotage in 1959, that the Governor declared a state of emergency, called for Federal troops and arrested the Congress leaders, including Dr. Banda. This led to the worst phase of the rioting, when 51 rioters were killed.

**Northern Rhodesia** was restless but under control, but later the A.N.C. was banned there too.

Not that the bannings helped very much. The A.N.C was revived in the form of political parties—Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland, UNIP, under **Kenneth Kaunda** in Northern Rhodesia and the N.D.P. in Southern Rhodesia, which was again banned, only to emerge even more powerful as ZAPU, led by **Joshua Nkomo**.

The 1960 review of the Federal and Territorial constitutions brought fresh trouble. The new Southern Rhodesian constitution providing for a rather complicated franchise and an enlarged

Legislative Assembly, was accepted at a referendum, mainly of Whites, in 1961, in the face of implacable opposition from Nkomo and his followers who recently crowned him "King of Zimbabwe." He declared his intention of wrecking the next election.

The Northern Rhodesian conference found agreement impossible and even modified proposals caused widespread disturbances occasioned by Kaunda's UNIP. Nyasaland's new constitution was more easily worked out and the ensuing elections brought an overwhelming victory for the Malawi Congress Party, firmly committed to secession from the Federation. Dr. Banda is said to have done more than any man to shatter the dream of Federation.

In May 1962 Mr. Butler, the Home Secretary, came to Salisbury with the task of trying to prevent the break-up of the Federation. A change was inevitable, but he hoped at least to preserve the valuable economic ties between the territories.

The main difficulties of the Federation were in Southern Rhodesia, the core of the African dilemma, the place where the two major influences of Africa meet head-on: from South Africa the doctrine of White domination and from West, North and East Africa the new urgent appeal for political independence.

Sir Edgar Whitehead's United Federal Party, with a fair majority in Parliament, was committed to a multi-racial programme, too slow for Mr. Nkomo's ZAPU and too fast for Mr. Winston Field's Right-wing Rhodesia Front.

## Violence and Intimidation

Though not himself a man of violence, Nkomo was being pushed by the extremists both in his own party and abroad. ZAPU's opposition to the new constitution took the form of intimidation of African voters by petrol bombs and general violence. To maintain order and stamp out intimidation the UFP in August 1962 passed the Unlawful Organizations Amendment Act and the Law and Order Maintenance Act, both of which were severely criticised as being unduly harsh and oppressive.

Finally ZAPU was banned and hundreds of its members arrested. Nkomo, out of the country, escaped arrest, but returned to be detained in a country area, thus achieving the political martyrdom which gives prestige to African leaders.

Sir Edgar Whitehead and his Party then stepped up their programme of progressive removal of race discrimination, integration of higher education and particularly of progressive repeal of the Land Apportionment Act. He expected a good measure of African support, which he did not get. The White voters, on the other hand, angered by African extremism, reacted against his liberal policies and moved to the Right in support of the Rhodesia Front. The UFP problem was to get another 10,000 Africans on the voters' roll, but so strong was the intimidation that this aim was not achieved.

## Testing Time

The last months of 1962 were the testing time for the Federation. The Northern Rhodesian elections in October gave the UFP 15 seats, UNIP 14 and Harry Nkumbula's ANC five, while 10 out of 14 national roll seats were undecided and would have to be voted on again in December. The ANC thus held the balance of power, and Nkumbula, in spite of his election pact with the UFP, decided to form a coalition with UNIP. Thus Northern Rhodesia obtained its African government, determined to have secession and independence.

In November the outcome of the constitutional conference in London was that Nyasaland would have an African government early in 1963, with Dr. Banda undoubtedly the Prime Minister. That conference was in fact the deathblow to Federation.

The final test came on December 14th when Southern Rhodesia went to the polls. It was largely a White election, since only 13,000 Africans were registered, 8,000 on the "A" roll and 5,000 on the "B", instead of an estimated 60,000. This was the result of ZAPU's steady campaign to induce Africans to boycott the election. The major parties, UFP and Rhodesia Front, were the main contestants, with a sprinkling of Independent candidates. The result was a surprise to many. The White electorate, which a year before had overwhelmingly accepted the new constitution, now reversed its decision by an equally convincing victory for the Rhodesia Front.

Two great experiments, Federation and partnership, had failed.

The year 1963 opened with a new chapter in the history of Central Africa. The battle of Nyasaland was over. Dr. Banda had won the right to secede, though secession did not mean independence. As Dr. Kamuzu Banda (no longer Hastings) he became the first Prime Minister in February, though Britain would retain power through the Governor. The second stage, secession, would follow later.

## Dissolution

So far Britain has refused Southern Rhodesia's demand for independence. Mr. Field, who flew to London in May for talks with Mr. Butler, was at first adamant that he would not attend the Victoria Falls Conference in July without a prior guarantee of independence for his country. It was finally agreed that Southern Rhodesia would wait until after the dissolution of Federation before pressing her claims to independence.

Mr. Field and Dr. Kaunda led their delegations to the Victoria Falls Conference in July, while Dr. Banda sent observers only. Sir Roy Welensky, still the Federal Prime Minister, attended, anxious to get the funeral rites over. In a surprisingly cordial atmosphere the break-up of Federation

was agreed upon. Dr. Kaunda wanted talks between the Rhodesias on railways and Kariba, Mr. Field wanted to leave the Federation with no prejudice to his prospects of independence and Sir Roy's chief concern was for the future of the Federal civil servants and the need for careful re-adjustment in the removal of the various departments from Federal to territorial control in order to maintain their standards.

Commissions were set up to work out the complexities of un-federating the Federation. Matters such as Education and Health are relatively easy. The difficult ones are Kariba, Railways and the sharing of the Federal public debt of £330 million.

Thus at Victoria Falls, where Federation was born eleven years before, so it died in July 1963. Officially it is due to end on December 31st, 1963, but it is now becoming doubtful whether the Federal egg can be unscrambled in so short a time.

Financially, Federation was a success. Now each separate country will have financial difficulties. Northern Rhodesia, the wealthiest because of its copper mines, is seeking to tax goods from Southern Rhodesia in order to stimulate its own economy, Dr. Banda is seeking American aid, while Southern Rhodesia will lose the most by being wrenched out of Federation. The transition budget has raised the cost of living, there is widespread unemployment and her markets are threatened. Mr. Field is learning, like other leaders in Africa, that independence can be a costly thing.

In August 1963 Barotseland, which had threatened to secede from Northern Rhodesia, held its first adult suffrage election. The result was a complete defeat of tribalism, when Dr. Kaunda's UNIP won all 25 seats against tribal independent candidates. Northern Rhodesia is to become self-governing in January, 1964. About a year later she will become the independent Commonwealth country of Zambia.

Dr. Banda and the Governor went to London in September to discuss a similar set-up for Nyasaland. It is reported that Mr. Butler is worried by the prospect of Dr. Banda's one-party state and the anti-White feeling shown by the Malawi Congress Party, but the date for independence has been announced as July 6th, 1964.

It now remains to be seen whether Mr. Field can achieve independence for Southern Rhodesia. The original problem of a strong White population opposed by a violent Black nationalism militates against Britain giving her consent. Will Southern Rhodesia seize her independence or will she wait?

Quite recently there has been a split in African nationalism in Southern Rhodesia similar to the split five years ago in Northern Rhodesia, when Kenneht Kaunda, dissatisfied with Harry Nkumbula's leadership, hived off to form his own UNIP. Joshua Nkomo has set up a People's Caretaker Council, but the Rev. Sithole has broken with Nkomo and founded a new party, ZANU, taking with him many former ZAPU adherents. History will tell whether he will achieve the spectacular success of Dr. Kaunda.



## REPORTS ON A YEAR'S ACTIVITY

**T**HE BLACK SASH, I am thankful to say, is still resolved in its determination to continue striving for good government. It will continue to speak out against injustice wherever it may be found. . . .

"We shall continue to use all legal and legitimate methods of protest, and will strive in all ways open to us to bring about peaceful change. During the past year, we have had many demonstrations on a variety of issues. . . . These demonstrations have not in any way cracked the granite of the Government's determination to stick to its policy. Nevertheless, it is of the greatest importance that they continue.

"We shall never let it be said that the Black Sash acquiesced in injustice by remaining silent, and thus giving consent. A voice crying in the wilderness is better than no voice at all, and in my own mind I am convinced that in the end it will be heard."

These words were spoken by Mrs. Jean Sinclair during her Presidential address to the ninth Annual National Conference of the Black Sash. Although the reports which follow are only brief outlines of the work of the organization in different areas of South Africa, they fully substantiate Mrs. Sinclair's claim that the Black Sash is still firm in its determination to continue to strive for good government, and to speak out against injustice wherever it may be found.

### HEADQUARTERS REGION

**I**T has been another difficult year for South Africa and the Black Sash. Our demonstrations, posters, statements and letters required very careful planning and wording, because of the provisions contained in various laws, and in particular the General Law Amendment Act.

Venues for demonstrations are more difficult to arrange. The one-year ban on the Johannesburg City Hall steps expired recently but was very soon re-imposed in a more stringent form.

We have had to contend with fear and the "White laager mentality" of the public, many of whom are afraid even to seem to be giving support to any anti-Government opinion. Nevertheless, our work goes on steadily and our membership remains dedicated. Results, we know, cannot be spectacular, but our real achievement is the voice of protest that will not be silenced.

The National President visited Border and Cape Eastern Regions during the year, partly to address a special meeting in East London to consolidate a membership drive, partly to discuss plans for opening Advice Offices, and partly to make personal contacts which she considered invaluable to herself, and hoped would serve a useful purpose to the Regions concerned.

During the year, numerous National Press Statements, were issued, and many letters were addressed to the authorities and to the Press. Subjects covered included the South Africa Foundation, the banning of Mr. Peter Hjul, the application of the Pass Laws to women, Influx Control, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the General Law Amendment Bill, Family Day, Mr. de Wet Nel's

### National Vice-Presidents



Mrs. J. Davidoff and Mrs. M. Cluver, who were elected National Vice-Presidents at Conference.

attack on the Black Sash, and many others. Two memoranda were prepared on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the second a specialized version covering points which are to be discussed with the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development. Mrs. Robb of Cape Western, and our own legal adviser, a valued member of the Black Sash, played an important part in drawing up this document.

National demonstrations were planned against the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, but were held over when the major portion of this Bill was temporarily withdrawn. Two Regions went into "retreat" on Family Day as a gesture of sympathy to African families broken up by the laws of the land.

A complaint to the Press Board of Reference against the Sunday newspaper "Dagbreek en Sondag" regarding a caption to a front-page picture which erroneously involved the Black Sash, and which the newspaper omitted to correct even when the mistake was pointed out to them, was upheld by the Board.

## BORDER REGION

**T**HERE has been reduced activity in Border Region during the past year, owing mainly to a lack of members.

East London Sashers are very keen on opening an **Advice Office** and expanding their activities in many other directions, but lack of the necessary personnel has been a serious handicap. For this reason, the Region recently undertook a mammoth **membership drive**. Up to the present, this drive has gained them only a few new members, but if the project did not succeed to any great extent in its immediate objective, it had an extremely valuable secondary result. One thousand citizens of East London, who received copies of the "manifesto" sent out, now know something about the work of the Black Sash, and a great deal of interest was aroused among the public and in the Press.

Many of the Region's activities took the form of support for other organizations. Valuable support was given to the **Mayor's School Feeding Scheme** in East London, and Black Sash members organized, through a house to house canvass, a scheme whereby the public pay extra on their grocery accounts. These amounts are collected by Sash members every month and taken to a central collection depot.

**Aid for the Banished.** — The Region has "adopted" a **banished man** in the Tsomo area, and sends him, through the Human Rights Committee, a regular sum of R6 per month plus some second-hand clothing.

A member of the Regional Committee also spent many hours tracing a woman, Mrs. Nellie Tikani, for the Human Rights Committee. With very slight information, she traced the woman through hospital records. Mrs. Tikani was taken to a private doctor for medical treatment, and was eventually provided with a rail ticket to her home.

**Meetings.**—The Region held a meeting early in the year with two speakers from the **South Africa Foundation**. At the end of the year, relations between the Black Sash and the Foundation became somewhat strained owing to successful Black Sash intervention when the Foundation applied for a grant-in-aid from the City Council. Other organizations supported the Black Sash protest, and as a result the Council said "NO" to the Foundation's request.

Other meetings held by the Region during the year were addressed by **Mrs. E. Lewin**, of Johannesburg, who spoke of the need for better understanding between race groups on a person to person basis, and **Mrs. Johnson**, a local Sasher, who gave an interesting talk on her travels in Russia. At another meeting, a tape recording on the work of **Kupagani** was played.

Attendance at all meetings held by Border Region has been high.

### Demonstrations

Owing to lack of numerical strength most

demonstrations take the form of four-woman stands at peak periods during the day. Such a demonstration with posters on "**Banning without Trial**" received Press publicity, and a photograph of two of the demonstrators appeared in the "Daily Dispatch." A letter to the Press on the same subject was also published.

## CAPE EASTERN REGION

This Region has suffered particularly from a lack of executive personnel during the year. **Mrs. Pirie**, the Regional Chairman since the inception of the Black Sash, left Port Elizabeth in May. **Mrs. Pledger**, the Secretary, virtually kept the Region together for the next few months, but in September she was obliged to resign as she had taken on full-time employment. **Mrs. Levey** and **Mrs. Bell** have now agreed to take over as Acting Chairman and Secretary respectively until new office-bearers are elected.

**Grahamstown** and **Salem** Branches have now amalgamated, and **Port Elizabeth** Branch has joined **Walmer**. There are small Branches at **Addo** and **Alexandria**, and **Mrs. Parkes** of **Graaff Reinet** acts as contact for her area.

During the year, demonstration stands were held against **Detention without Trial**, the **Group Areas Act**, **Banning without Trial**, the **Bantu Laws Amendment Act**, and **Group Areas** and a demonstration on **Family Day** was held in protest against the break-up of African family life.

**Group Areas.**—In July a predominantly Coloured area called **South End** was proclaimed White, and over 8,000 Coloureds and Indians will have to move. Less than 2,000 Whites are living in this area.

The **South End Committee** was formed in August, and representatives of all races from various organizations joined. The Black Sash agreed to organize a weekly stand in the centre of Port Elizabeth, and each Saturday morning from 11.30 to 12.30 two Sashers stand with six or eight Coloured and Indian women. All hold posters protesting against Group Areas in general and the **South End** proclamation in particular.

Members of the Region have worked hard for the **Banished**, collecting funds and old clothes.

The Region was most stimulated by the visit of the **National President** in September. **Mrs. Sinclair's** address received excellent publicity in the local paper.

The last big event of the year was the visit of **Mrs. Petersen** of Cape Western Region, who addressed a meeting of thirty people representing five or six organizations on the work of the **Athlone Advice Office**. The audience was horrified to hear of the human tragedies caused by the implementation of the Pass Laws, especially with regard to rural African women. An ad hoc Committee was formed to discuss the establishment of an Advice Office in Port Elizabeth, and notices of the first Advice Office meeting will be sent out shortly by the Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations.



## CAPE WESTERN REGION

**T**HE YEAR has seen the passage of a number of Bills that drastically curtail individual freedom, but those that called for most determined protest from the Black Sash were the **Censorship Bill**, the **General Law Amendment Bill** (the "No Trial Bill") and the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**.

Copies of Government Gazette No. 430 containing the draft **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill** were sent to seven paramount chiefs, and to the Langa and Nyanga East Townships Advisory Boards and Vigilance Committees. A **Memorandum** was submitted to the Secretary for Bantu Affairs, and copies of this were sent to all Members of Parliament, and a simplified version to Provincial and City Councillors, leaders of Commerce, Industry and the farming community, and to churches, women's organizations and other interested bodies.

Two **Brains Trusts** were held, one on the **Censorship Bill** and one on the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, and on both occasions two Nationalist M.P.'s took part. Each occasion revealed the appalling lack of communication between adherents of Nationalist and opposition parties. (Reports of both these Brains Trusts appeared in the *Black Sash Magazine*.)

Stands were held against both these Bills.

A stand was held against the **General Law Amendment Bill**, with posters, and on April 19th a lunch hour meeting was addressed by Mr. Justice Blackwell, Mr. Alan Paton, Mrs. M. Roberts, Mr. P. Horwitz, Mr. D. Molteno and Prof. Beinart.

From time to time, expert speakers have been invited to speak on various topics at the monthly **All-Branches meetings**. These include Mrs. Robb on the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, Mrs. Grant on the **Coloured Education Bill**, Mrs. Jackie Beck on the **General Law Amendment Bill** and Mr. Anthony Delius on the **Addis Ababa Conference**.

The **Athlone Advice Office**, run jointly by the Black Sash and the Institute of Race Relations, is working at high pressure as the tempo of endorsing Africans out of the Western Cape has quickened.

The vast majority of the Whites remain unaware of what is happening, and the Black Sash has worked hard to get publicity through the Press and by submitting case histories to bodies like the Progressive Party, the United Party, the Civil Rights League and to newspapers elsewhere. The greatest care is taken in verifying the facts, and Mrs. Robb and Mrs. Petersen were congratulated by officials in the townships on the thoroughness of their investigations.

The Advice Office has a growing "fan mail" from those African men and women to whom help and advice has been given. Their gratitude is touching and rewarding. The number of visitors to the office has also grown—this year, as well as visitors from Cape Town and other towns in South Africa, there have been people from England, Ireland, Scotland, America, West Germany, the Netherlands, France, Denmark—and Hawaii!

The number of cases dealt with during the year ending September, 1963, was 4,891. We are most grateful for the many generous donations received towards the running costs of the office.

Early this year, memoranda were sent from the Advice Office to the Bantu Affairs Committee of the City Council and to the Divisional Council, stressing the difficulties under which Africans live, and asking them to receive Black Sash deputations. The Bantu Affairs Department granted this request, and gave the deputation a sympathetic hearing. The Divisional Council would not receive a deputation, but sent a courteous and helpful reply clarifying many points which were causing concern.

**Elgin Branch** are in the process of starting an Advice Office.

**Christmas and Family Day Demonstrations.** As a gesture of sympathy with African families broken and divided by our laws, a group of Black Sashers went into "retreat" on Christmas and Boxing Days, living on bread and water and observing complete silence. The gesture was repeated on Family Day.

**Migrant Labour.** At Mrs. Jessie Hertslet's suggestion, an informal meeting was held with representatives of various women's organizations to discuss the effects of the migratory labour system on family life. It was decided that the various bodies should inform themselves as fully as possible, and make separate representations to the Government. A follow-up meeting will be held in six months' time.

**Protest stands** were held during the year against the **Censorship Bill**, against banning without trial, the **General Law Amendment Bill**, the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill** and **Taxi Apartheid**. Posters were used. Numerous letters and statements have been sent to the newspapers.

## NATAL COASTAL REGION

**T**HIS REGION operates no separate branches, but holds general meetings once a month for the region as a whole. Committee meetings are also held once a month.

Natal Coastal believe in the personal touch in recruiting new members, and likely members are therefore approached individually. In order to provide positive work for those who will not join an organization simply to attend meetings, they have tried to vary their activities this year. They have helped the "banished," laid plans for opening an **Advice Office**, held fund-raising functions, and invited interesting **speakers** to stimulate those who really enjoy meetings. **Protests** by way of **demonstration** or through the **Press** remain the backbone of their activities.

During the year, financial assistance has been given to the local **campaign against the "Black Spot" removal scheme**, to the **Human Rights Committee** for the assistance of the "Banished," and funds have been raised expressly to provide **Christmas parcels for the "banished,"** and to form a fund for the running of an **Advice Office**.

## Obituary

### MISS R. F. BRANDON

**T**HE DEATH occurred suddenly in May of Miss R. F. Brandon, of Natal Coastal Region. Miss Brandon was a foundation member of the Black Sash, and to the end of her life was completely dedicated to the organization.

When Westville Branch carried Natal Coastal Region alone, under Mrs. Wallace, Miss Brandon was a tower of strength to her. Those who attended the National Conference in Durban last year will remember her as one of the indefatigable "Universal Aunts."

We shall sadly miss her quiet and efficient presence.

In addition to the **Black Sash Magazines** circulated to members, the Region posts a number of complimentary copies to various interested bodies.

During the year, **general meetings** have been addressed by **Mr. Andrew Wilson**, an attorney, on the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**; by **Mr. Peter Brown**, on "**Black Spots**"; by **Mrs. Zuleika Mayat** on her tour of emergent African countries; and by the **Rev. James Moulder**, one of the young Ministers who staged a protest fast against University Apartheid, on **Politics and Religion**. Mrs. Robb's recorded talk, "**Endorsed Out**," was used at one meeting, and political reviews have been given by **Mesdames Duncan, Francis and Grice**, while **Mrs. Ventress** gave a talk on **Swaziland**.

**Protest stands** were held against **bannings without trial**, the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, the **General Law Amendment Bill**, and **Durban Group Areas** proclamations.

**Press publicity** has been both encouraging and disappointing. Several official letters have been published in the daily Press, and the Region has been appealed to several times for statements. "**Questions the Black Sash would like to put to Dr. Verwoerd**," together with questions from the **United and Progressive Parties** appeared in a special front page feature in the "**Natal Mercury**" at the time of Dr. Verwoerd's famous "**Break Through**" visit.

On the other hand, a large and novel demonstration against the **General Law Amendment Act** was completely ignored by the newspapers.

Plans for the establishment of an **Advice Office** are well advanced, and the Region has found the **Municipal Director of Bantu Administration** sympathetic to the scheme, while the **Institute of Race Relations** and the **Bantu Child Welfare Organization** are really anxious to see the office operating.

On a personal level, members of the Region are happily involved in relationships, both working and social, with people of other races.

### NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

**T**HE POLITICAL CLIMATE in this Region has changed very considerably in the past year. There has been a marked swing to the right, a certain amount of intimidation and a frightening

increase of apathy. These factors have made the work of the Black Sash difficult and depressing.

There are branches in **Pietermaritzburg, Mooi River** and **Matatiele**, and groups at **Kokstad, Howick, Underberg** and **Ixopo**.

Pietermaritzburg Branch held a successful **Brains Trust** in April, and the Black Sash were co-sponsors with the **Liberal Party**, the **Congress Alliance** and certain **Churches** of two protest meetings, one against the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, and one against the banning of a local leader of the **Natal Indian Congress**.

The Mooi River Branch held a meeting to which non-members were invited, and Mrs. Sylvia Nell's recorded talk on **Christian National Education** was played. This Branch also invited **Mrs. Dyer**, of the **Regional Committee**, to address one of their meetings.

A number of **demonstrations** and stands were held by Pietermaritzburg Branch during the year, and the Branch continues to hold a monthly demonstration if anyone from Natal has been **banned** or placed under **house arrest** that month. Hitherto permission to hold such stands in Pietermaritzburg has been a verbal one, but because of the arrest and conviction of Cape Town Liberals recently for holding poster stands against the banning of Mr. Peter Hjul, Pietermaritzburg have stopped their demonstrations while they await written permission from the City Council.

The Mooi River Branch held a stand against the "**No Trial**" Bill in May.

**Multi-racial tea parties** are held regularly in Pietermaritzburg, and the Region considers them of great value.

Members have been asked to take note of any bias on **S.A.B.C. programmes**, particularly the Zulu programme and school broadcasts. The Regional Committee has written two letters of protest to the local **Listeners' Advisory Council**.

The Region has been corresponding with the Provincial Secretary about **Job Reservation** in the building trade and has succeeded in having a clause, restricting work on Provincial contracts to skilled White artisans only, removed from the Provincial contract form.

Pulls of an article on "**Black Spot**" removals written by Mr. Peter Brown, which appeared in the Black Sash Magazine in July, have been sent to 500 people, with a covering letter, as the Region feels that the people of Natal do not know the misery caused by such removals. The article was sent to women's organizations, women's institutes, Churches, Municipalities, Provincial Councillors, etc.

The Committee intends to send out an article on **Group Areas** injustices in the same way.

The Pietermaritzburg Emergency Welfare Organization is looking after the dependants of Pietermaritzburg men arrested under the 90-day clause of the **General Law Amendment Act**, and the Black Sash has written to the Bantu Affairs Department to try to obtain a refund of rent paid for the month of August by a detainee who was arrested at the beginning of that month.



## TRANSVAAL REGION

**A**S this is the Black Sash Headquarters Region, it is rather difficult to disentangle National and Regional work, and there is some overlapping.

Many demonstrations were staged during the year, including two in Springs. As the Johannesburg City Hall steps have been banned, other points have had to be found, except on September 10th, when the Region managed to stage a demonstration there during the brief period between the expiration of the first ban and the imposition of the second wider ban. The "Flame of Freedom" was lit on that occasion, and the poster read, "We continue to protest against injustice and discrimination."

Two peak-hour stands were held to protest against House Arrest, and a forty-eight hour demonstration followed, when the first House Arrests were made. On Human Rights Day, a further stand was held against house arrest and detention without trial.

Other demonstrations were held against the Censorship Bill, Bannings without trial, the "No-trial Bill," the Pageview Removals under the Group Areas Act. A Family Day demonstration was held on the west steps of the Johannesburg City Hall, and one was held in Springs.

A twenty-four hour "retreat" was held from the 7th to 8th July, Family Day. There was a report of this retreat in the American Magazine "Time," and a factual report without comment in "Die Transvaler."

The Branches have been very active during the year. Good meetings with speakers have been arranged by Waverley, North East and Rustenburg. Waverley, Rustenburg and Witbank are all helping the "banished." All Branches have been recruiting new members. Witbank and Rustenburg have interested themselves in the implementation of Group Areas in their towns.

Many letters have been written to the Press during the year. One was in reply to a letter accusing the Black Sash indirectly of supporting violence. Others protested against warnings and bannings of Liberal Party members, the break-up of African family life, the removal of Indians and the Government's broken promises.

Meetings have been addressed by Mrs. Robb, "Endorsed Out," Miss Muriel Horrell, on "The Banished," Mr. C. Keyter on "Kupugani," Dr. Ellen Hellmann on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, Dr. J. C. de Ridder on "The Problem of African Leadership."

Two memoranda on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill were prepared, the second with the assistance of Mrs. Noel Robb of Cape Western. The first memorandum was sent to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and thereafter the Region wrote to the Prime Minister, asking him to receive a Black Sash deputation to discuss the Bill. He replied, telling us to apply to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. This was done, and the Minister asked for a Memorandum on the points the Region wished to discuss. Hence the second Memorandum. This was sent to the Minister, but in the meantime the major portion of the Bill was withdrawn, and

Mr. de Wet Nel wrote to say he would discuss the matter with the Black Sash "at a later date." (Now fixed for November 4th.)

This was the Region's second encounter with Mr. de Wet Nel through correspondence. In February, a letter dealing with Passes for African Women was sent to him, and he replied to the effect that we were meddling women who did not know what we were talking about. The correspondence was handed to the "Sunday Times," who published it. Mr. de Wet Nel has since repeated his "allegations" against the Black Sash in Parliament, and the Black Sash has replied through the Press.

Letters were sent to all church leaders on the break-up of African family life due to "endorsing out." The replies received have been most encouraging, and the Region is planning to send such letters to a wider group and to organize a Conference on "Family Life," probably in the new year.

Telegrams of congratulation were sent to Sir de Villiers Graaff on his handling of "bannings" and the Transkei Amendment Bill, to Mrs. Helen Suzman and Mr. Hamilton Russell on their stand over the General Law Amendment Bill and one of disapproval to Sir de Villiers Graaff for his support of this Bill.

This year, Transvaal opened an Advice Office in Johannesburg, on the lines of Cape Western's Athlone Advice Office, and already many cases have been dealt with. Mrs. Sinclair and Mrs. Brock have been the moving spirits in this enterprise, and many of the members work in the office, regularly or occasionally. The volume of work done in this office cannot compare with that undertaken by Cape Western, but it is only recently that the authorities have started "endorsing out" Africans from the Johannesburg urban area. As the existence of this office becomes more widely known, and as the Africans' problems increase, the work of this office, unhappily, is certain to increase.

The experience of our Cape Western Region has under-lined the need for such offices, in all urban areas of South Africa, and there is no doubt that the Black Sash is performing a real service in assisting Africans to establish their limited rights.

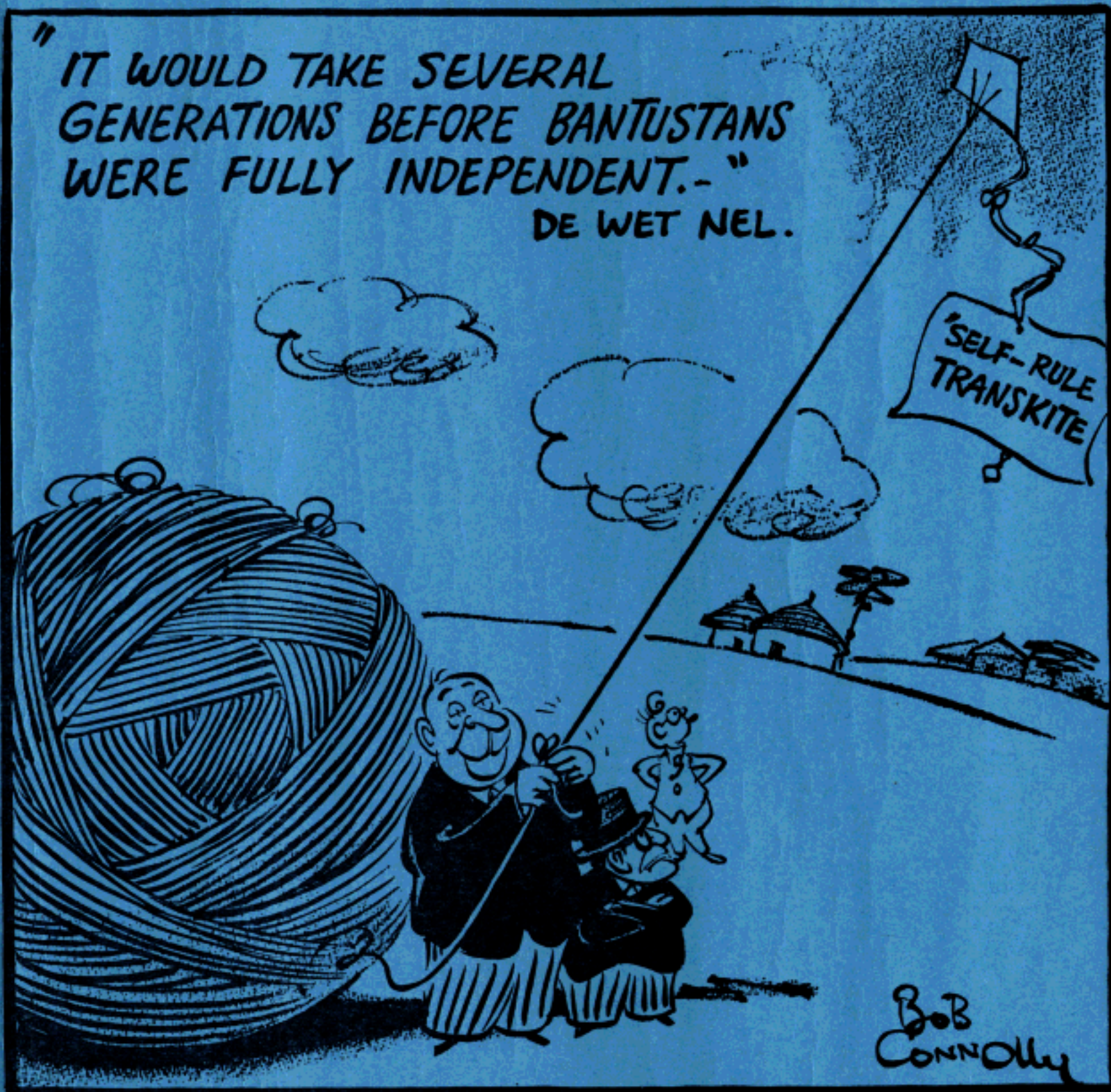
### BLACK SASH CROSSWORD PUZZLE — SOLUTION

Across.—1, Help (H-E-L-P). 3, Turfloop (Anag. ULTPROOF) 8, London 9, Right. 11, Broadcasting. 13, Censors. 15, Sauer and Louw (Sweet and low). 18, These (Anag. SHEET). 19, Wrongs (Anag. GROWNS). 20, Politics. 21, Reds.

Down.—1, Halfback. 2, Lingo 4, First traders 5, Organs (anag. GROANS). 6, Poto (Victor). 7, Rowdy element. 10, Cats-paw (Anag. PACT WAS). 12, Retwists (Re-WIT-sts.). 14, Cavell. 16, Ounce. 17, Step.

Black Sash slogan—Help right these wrongs.





(By courtesy "Rand Daily Mail")

#### "FREE" ELECTIONS

ON THE 20th NOVEMBER, Xhosa voters in the Transkei will go to the polls to elect an "independent" Parliament—with plenty of string attached! Mr. de Wet Nel, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, has made it clear that there will be no point in voting for multi-racialism.



# BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

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